Somavaṁśī Rule in Orissa -a History

BINA KUMARI SARMA



PUNTHI PUSTAK
CALCUTTA • 1983

THE BOOK

In this work a modest attempt has been made to present a balanced and complete account of the history of the Somavamsi Kings who had left an indelible mark on the pages of Orissan history. This piece of historical research is based on the contemporary as well as later sources and adds much to our knowledge about the works and achievements of an important dynasty in Orissa. Previously very little has been written about the dynasty. Ruling over the region known as Orissa and the socio-cultural aspects of the history of this period has been totally neglected. This book is the first historical study presenting both the political and cultural history of the Somavamsi Kings of Orissa. It will certainly prove to be a great source of information to the students, researchers and teachers of history.

THE HISTORY OF SOMAVAṀŚĪ RULE IN ORISSA

ORISSAN STUDIES PROJECT NO. 15

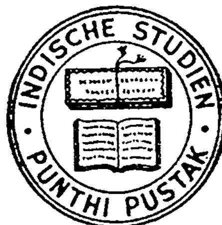
THE HISTORY OF SOMAVAMŚĪ RULE IN ORISSA

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PUNTHI PUSTAK

CALCUTTA 1983

Published by :

Shankar Bhattacharyya
PUNTHI PUSTAK
34, Mohan Bagan Lane
Calcutta-700 004

First Published, August, 1983

Printed by :

Smt. Mahamaya Ray
Sonnet Printing House
19, Goabagan Street
Calcutta-700 006

DEDICATED

To The Memory of
my Father-in-law
Late Vidyadhar Satapathy

FOREWORD

Since past many years, there is increasing interest for the scholars, for regional study mainly because of the availability of fresh data found from the region or fresh look they desire to give to the already given situation. There is no denying of the fact that it is only through the extensive research in regional history that the main stream of Indian national history will be sufficiently enriched and strengthened. The general trend in most cases in the study of regional history (including ancient period) perhaps emphasises more on political aspects than on cultural aspects. Here Dr. Sarma's work is welcome because it appears to be well-balanced one giving weightage both to political as well as cultural side including administration, socio-economic and religious conditions and architecture and sculpture.

A research scholar particularly in ancient Indian history is often found seized with the problem of not having large amount of source materials. In dealing with such limited materials, the merit of the work is to depend on the ability he shows in correct interpretation of the documents, handled and unbiased inference he draws from those documents written in the classical style in the language of the time, often in eulogistic hyperbole. To draw out facts from, such materials in their true historical perspectives is not always an easy one. A scholar conversant with historical methodology should not be prepared to accept any view (old or new) without proper examination and scrutiny of those documents on which they are based. Again because of limited source materials there arises sometimes a tendency with some to give more play to imagination than is needed and such ambitious interpretation leads to lopsided and congectural conclusions. But a right minded researcher takes full control of such tendency and follows the principle of saying what is needed in the perspective and not more or less than that. Here Dr. Sarma, scrupulously and meticulously has adhered to this historical methodology and has avoided any ambitious tendency. She has at many places in her work more particularly in chapter I and chapter II has disagreed with the views of many reputed scholars and refuted their views, not without evidence and reason and has categorically pointed out why such views are not tenable and her own views are correct. Also where her scrutiny of the basic materials has proved satisfactory, she has accepted such view. Her work appears to have corrected or modified some old views and solved many problems hither-to remained unsolved. On the other hand, it has brought forward some new facts and thrown some new light on many aspects in this field.

One of the very important contributions of the Somavaṁśī rule, as she rightly argues, was that for the first time Kaḷinga, Utkal, Kangod and Kosal were unified

and welded into one political entity under one sceptre, to be called as Orissa. The uniform administrative system enforced on the newly established territory removed the discordant elements, found in the amalgamated regions and paved the way in course of nearly 200 years' rule, for a cultural synthesis leading to the emergence of a typical Oriya culture. Though in the later periods, the political unity was disturbed because of conquest of other powers or because of its vivisection for administrative convenience of the Muslim or the British rule the cultural solidity so formed, could sustain itself all political hazards of centuries for the creation of a separate Orissa state in the first half of this 20th century.

Particularly in the field of architecture, the contribution of the Somavaṁśī to the main stream of Indian history was perhaps more remarkable. Dr. Sarma strongly argues that the principal features of the Orissan temple type reached in this age, a stage of maturity and whatever further developments were done in the later period was an elaboration, not on original technique. In order to strengthen her view point she quotes "the Orissan temple architectural activities in the later period though by no means scarce, were more concerned with elaboration than with any introduction of new features or forms indicating new directions of development". Researchers or specialists who minutely observe the features of the Orissan temple cannot but agree with this assertion.

It is very much hoped that this laudable work of Dr. Sarma will not only be useful to the scholars and researchers but may inspire them to think and work in such other fields, with a view to giving a well-balanced and unbiased picture of the Orissan political, socio-economic, religious and cultural life of the past.

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Sree Gundicha Day, 1983
Bhubaneswar

PREFACE

The Soma dynasty figured on the political scene of Orissa for more than two hundred years and did play an important role in unifying the several regions with distinct cultures and languages. Before the rule of the dynasty was thoroughly established in Orissa, the Sambalpur-Sonepur region was a different region called South-Kośaḷa over which it originally ruled. The kingdom of the Bhaumakaras comprising the present districts of Cuttack, Purī, Bālasore, Kēonjhar, Dhēṇkānāl and Baud Phulbāṇi was known as Tosāḷī or Utkaḷa and the southern part of the present Ganjām district was included in the kingdom of Kaḷinga. All these regions were brought together under one sceptre during the rule of the Somavaṁśīs and since then the unified country was known as Orissa. It is they who amalgamated the upper Mahānadi valley with the Utkaḷa kingdom of the Bhaumakaras and later added to it the southern portion of the Kaḷinga country by conquest and thus contributed to the unification of Orissa.

After the discovery of many of the copper plates and stone inscriptions of the Somavaṁśīs, scholars like J. F. Fleet, Prof. Keilhorn, Hultzsch, A. Cunningham, D. R. Bhandarkar, Rai Bahadur Hiralal have rendered valuable service by examining the inscriptions of the dynasty. It is noticed that Cunningham's preparation of the chronology of the dynasty is based on the *Mādaḷāpānji*, the chronicle of the temple of Jagannāth. The chronology of the dynasty as prepared by Keilhorn and Hiralal have also been proved to be wrong by later works done by scholars like Mirashi etc. with the help of epigraphic sources.

Some later records of this dynasty have also been examined by scholars like D. C. Sircar, S. C. De, S. N. Rajguru and Debala Mitra. This has thrown some light on the political history of the Somavaṁśī kings. But their knowledge about this dynasty was very much limited as it was based on the information supplied by a few inscriptions available to them. Again whatever has been written on the history of Orissa by scholars like B. C. Majumdar, R. D. Banerjee, H. C. Ray, H. K. Mahatab, N. K. Sahu only at best 25 to 30 pages, have been covered to trace the rule of the Somavaṁśī king.

B. C. Majumdar who wrote about the kings of the Soma dynasty in the general history of Orissa named as 'Orissa in the Making' has misinterpreted the source materials related to the history of the dynasty. When R. D. Banerjee wrote on it after him perhaps was influenced by Majumdar and committed the same mistake in his book 'History of Orissa' Vol. I, because he was of the opinion that Janmējaya I had no control over any part of Orissa, but it is known from evidence that Janmējaya I was the first ruler of the dynasty to have conquered a part of

Orissa, called Oḍra. Secondly the same scholar has committed the mistake of interpreting the Jatēsingā and Dūngri plates of Yayāti II as belonging to Yayāti I which is not a fact and thereby he has brought misinterpretations and confusions. Lastly he held the view that there were two Udyotakēśarīes, one the successor of Bhīmaratha and the other the son of Chaṇḍīhara Yayāti. But from the careful study of all the inscriptions related to the matter it is ascertained that there was only one Udyotakēśarī and that was the son of Chaṇḍīhara Yayāti II.

H. C. Ray has also done the same mistake by taking Yayāti II to be Yayāti I and he also completely omitted the donation of land grants of Yayāti I in Daksina Tośāḷī and wrongly has taken him to be the contemporary of Rājēndra Choḷa, the Choḷa emperor. But it is known from the Tirumalai inscription of Rājēndra Choḷa dated 1023 A.D. that Indraratha, the grandson of Yayāti I was the contemporary of Rājēndra Choḷa.

N. K. Sahu has written something about the dynasty in his book, 'A History of Orissa', Vol. II and has dealt with the Somavaṁśī kings only in six pages and the genealogy as well as the chronology as fixed by him is incorrect. His treatment of the subject is defective. There are noticed fallacies on some points. Firstly it has very clearly been mentioned in the original charters that Nahusa was the *Bhrātā* (brother) of Dharmaratha and Chaṇḍīhara Yayāti II was his *anuja* (cousin). But in the genealogical list provided by him it is stated that Nahusa was the adopted son of Dharmaratha and secondly he has presented the name of Chaṇḍīhara Yayāti as two different persons.

K. C. Panigrahi has made some attempt to work out the chronology of the Somavaṁśī kings in his book entitled 'The Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa'. As the title of the book indicates he has only dealt with the chronology of the dynasty briefly in 17 pages. Even then there are some contradictions in some of his statements. It is interesting to note that on the one hand, Dr. Panigrahi while giving credit to Janmējaya I as the conqueror of Orissa is of the opinion that Yayāti I has never been credited with the conquest or invasion of Orissa in any of the official or non-official records of the Somavaṁśīs ; on the other hand he writes 'the accession of Trībhuvana Mahādēvī to the Bhaumakara throne.....prepared the way for the occupation of Orissa by Yayāti I in about 931 A.D.'

Sri Rajguru in his book 'Inscriptions of Orissa', Vol. IV, has also misread some of the passages and in spite of epigraphic evidences he has given many wrong statements. At one place he writes that Yayāti I son of Janmējaya being elected by the generals of Utkaḷa came to the throne of that country after the fall of the Bhaumakaras. At another place he writes, 'after the disappearance of the Bhaumakara rule from Utkala the nobles and chiefs invited Yayāti II son of Abhimanyu to run the administration. Thus for the same event he gave different

opinions at different places. Moreover whatever he has written is not the systematic account of the history of the Somavaṁśī kings.

Dr. Nema has also written a work, 'The Political History of the Somavaṁśī kings of South Kosaḷa and Orissa'. But as the title of the book indicates that theme has been constructed on the political history of the Somavaṁśī kings of South Kośaḷa only. Very little has been written about this dynasty ruling over the region called as Orissa. He has neglected totally the social and cultural aspects of the history of this period.

Articles relating to some aspects of the dynasty have appeared in some journals, but even if they are taken together they do not give a clear picture of the dynasty nor its rule or achievements. Moreover no attempt so far has been made to throw light on the socio-economic and cultural conditions and administrative system in Orissa during the rule of the Somavaṁśī kings

The present work has been based primarly on original sources. The epigraphs of the period consist of copper plate grants and stone inscriptions which form the principal source for constructing the political and cultural history of the dynasty. Of the two, the copper plate grants are more reliable and authentic historical documents. These charters are official records of the rulers composed by their court poets and granted to the Brāhmaṇa donees. The copper plates contain interesting information regarding the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty the administrative organisation alongwith a list of the important ministers and officers. Besides, they also give us information about different religious sects that existed in Orissa during the period and throw a flood of light on the social conditions of the period by mentioning the names of *gotras* and *pravaras* of the *Brāhmaṇas* as well as referring to other castes like *kshatrīyas*, *vaiśyas* etc. The stone inscriptions found engraved on caves and temples are private records, which furnish us with some additional information about the rulers of the dynasty and their achievements.

Inscriptions of some contemporary ruling dynasties like those of the Bhaumakaras, the Bhanjas, the Gangas, the Pāḷas and the Rāśhtrakutas have been utilised. They provide some facts about the Somavaṁśī king.

Monumental remains of the period found scattered at different places of Orissa form the next important sources of our information regarding the cultural and artistic achievements of the dynasty.

Besides this some casual references in the ancient Indian literatures and foreign accounts also provide us with some information about these kings.

From all these available sources we have tried to reconstruct the history of the Somavaṁśī kings. The whole work is divided into nine chapters. Chapter I deals with the origin and early history of the kings as an useful and necessary background to the subject. The genealogy and chronology of the Somavaṁśī kings has been discussed in Chapter II. Chapter III describes the circumstances which ultimately led to the establishment of the Somavaṁśī power in Orissa and the

extension of the kingdom. Chapter IV presents the political history of these kings from Janmējaya I to Karṇadēva and enumerates the political achievements of these kings keeping in view the main political events of the period as gleaned from the original source materials and also narrates the factors responsible for the downfall of the dynasty. Chapter V gives a detailed account of their administrative system for the first time. In Chapter VI and VII an attempt has been made to give a picture of the socio-religious conditions of the period. Chapter VIII deals with the architecture and sculpture of the temples constructed under the patronage of these kings. A summary of the thesis, in brief, is given in the concluding chapter.

In this work a modest attempt has been made to give as complete a picture as possible by presenting both the political and cultural history of the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa.

I take this opportunity to record my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. B. C. Ray, M.A. (Allh.), Ph.D. (London) former Professor and Head of the Department of History, Berhampur University, under whose meticulous supervision this thesis has been written. Without his invaluable guidance and encouragement the present work would have not been possible. I am also grateful to his family members for their help and cooperation in the completion of this work.

For the preparation of this work I am indebted to Mr. L. N. Raut, Lecturer in History, Berhampur University, who helped and assisted me in various ways. I hardly find words to express my thanks to him. I remain grateful to Dr. P. K. Jena, Lecturer in History, N. C. College, Jajpur and Mr. R. C. Misra, Lecturer in History, Berhampur University, who greatly helped me in procuring the photographs for the thesis. Besides I feel greatly indebted to a host of well-wishers for their help and to all those who have helped me in the completion of the work.

I should acknowledge my debt to my parents, but for whose constant help and encouragement the work would never have been completed and published. A word of praise is also due to my husband who patiently bore with me during my busy days of preparing the thesis.

To Shri S. K. Bhattacharyya, the Proprietor, Punthi Pustak goes my thanks for publishing the thesis.

Berhampur University, BINA KUMARI SARMA
August 1983.

ABBREVIATIONS

AI	Ancient India
AO	Acta Orientalia
AR	Asiatic Researches
ARASI	Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey of India
ASI	Archaelogical Survey of India
ASIR	Archaelogical Survey of India Reports
ASWI	Archaelogical Survey of Western India
BI	Bibliotheca Indica
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CR	Calcutta Review
EI	Epigraphia Indica
HCIP	History and Culture of the Indian People
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Indian Culture
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IO	Inscriptions of Orissa
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAHRS	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JARS	Journal of the Assam Research Society
JAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JASL	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JKHRS	Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society
JOH	Journal of Orissan History
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRSA	Journal of the Royal Society of Arts
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaelogical Survey of India
MR	Modern Review
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research Journal
PAIOC	Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference
PIHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
WC	Western Circle

CONTENTS

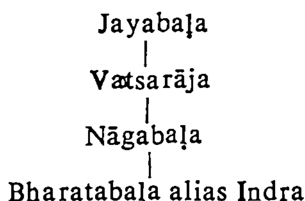
Chapter One

ORIGIN OF THE SOMA DYNASTY

The Somavaṁśīs also known as the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs are said to have belonged to the great family of the Moon and were *Kshatriyas* by race. In their records they mention their family as *'Somakūḷa'*[1] i.e. the family of the Moon, *'Somavaṁśa-Saṁbhavah'*[2] and *'Sītanśubansabimaḷambar'*[3] etc. As we know that in ancient times the *Kshatriyas* traced their origin either from the Sun or the Moon, so also the Somavaṁśī kings took pride in tracing their origin from the Moon.

The Somavaṁśīs appear to be the direct descendants of the Pāṇḍava dynasty, who also claimed to have belonged to the family of the Moon and ruled over Mēkaḷa, identified with the modern Maikal range that connects a link between the Vindhyas and the Satputras and stretches from the Khairagarh to Rewah in Madhya Pradesh.[4] The history of these Pāṇḍu kings before 5th century A.D. is shrouded in mystery. They are first introduced in the Bamhanī plates of Bharatabaḷa.

In the 5th century A.D. there ruled a line of kings at Mēkaḷa and the earliest record of the dynasty[5] gives the genealogy as follows :



Jayabaḷa
|
Vatsarāja
|
Nāgabaḷa
|
Bharatabaḷa alias Indra

Nothing is known for certain about the ancestors of Jayabaḷa, though Dr. Mirashi[6] holds the view that Bhadrabaḷa and his son Vaiśravaṇa of the Brāhmi inscriptions discovered at Bandogarh were the ancestors of Jayabaḷa, the first king of the Bamhanī plates. We do not know how for the statement of Dr. Mirashi is correct because in the Bamhanī inscription no where we find them mentioning either belonging to the family of the Moon or to the Pāṇḍava dynasty.

1. JASB, Vol. I, p. 124.
2. EI, Vol. XXVII, p. 290.
3. Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 31.
4. IHQ, Vol. XXI, p. 310.
5. EI, Vol. XXVII, p. 132.
6. Mirashi, V. V., "*Studies in Indology*", Vol. I, p. 213.

Therefore the history of this Pāṇḍava dynasty, the ancestors of the Somavaṁśī kings, before Jayabaḷa is not definitely known. These kings might have adopted the name of the dynasty following the style of the great Pāṇḍava heroes of epic *Mahābhārata*. Inscriptional evidences show that these Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs later on came to be known as the Somavaṁśīs.

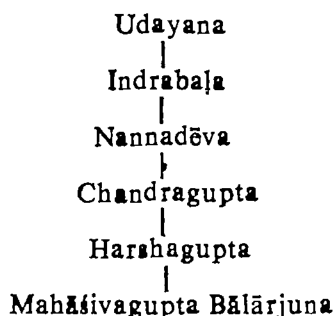
Jayabaḷa and Vatsarāja, the first two kings of the Bāmhanī plate have no titles prefixed to their names, which show that probably they were ruling as subordinate chiefs in the country of Mēkaḷa under some paramount ruler. It is likely that Jayabaḷa and Vatsarāja were feudatories of the imperial Guptas[7] who were at that time at the zenith of their power. However Nāgabaḷa, the son of Vatsarāja was the first person to assume the title of Mahārāja who most probably threw off the Gupta yoke in the 2nd half of the 5th century A.D., when the imperial power began to decline. He was succeeded by his son Bharatabaḷa who also bore the title of Mahārāja. In the Bamhanī plates of Bharatabaḷa there is a veiled reference to his overlord Narēndra, that is most probably the Vakāṭaka monarch, Narēndrasēna.[8] Moreover the Bēlaghāt plates of Prithivisēna II, credits Narēndrasēna, the Vakāṭaka monarch as being the overlord of Kośaḷa, Mēkaḷa and Mālava.[9] This shows that the kings ruling over Kośaḷa and Mālava and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings of Mēkaḷa at that time were the subordinate allies of the great Vakāṭakas. Thus being a contemporary of the Vakāṭaka king Narēndrasēna, who flourished in A.D. 450-470. Bharatabaḷa, the last ruler of the Mēkaḷa branch may be assigned the period from circa A.D. 460-480.[10]

After Bharatabaḷa nothing is known about this family ruling in Mēkaḷa. However with the help of the Somavaṁśī records found at Kośaḷa more information is available for our study.

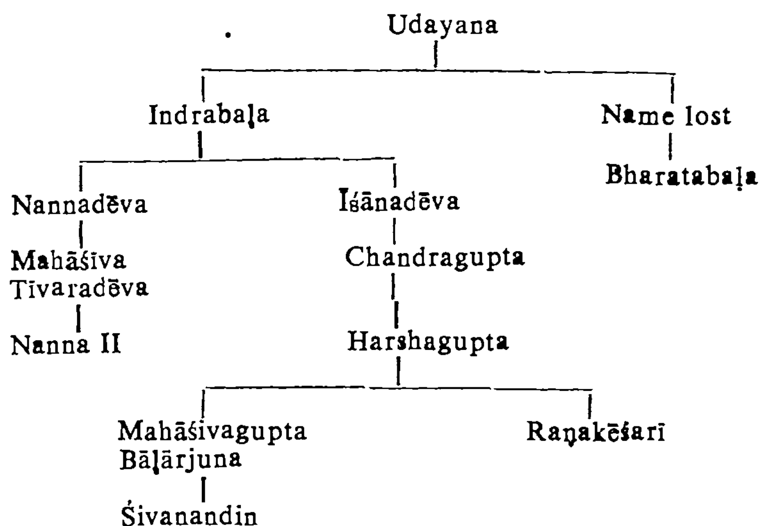
The Somavaṁśīs otherwise known as Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs ruling over Kośaḷa and Mahākośaḷa with their capital at Śrīpura trace their origin from a remote ancestor named Udayana who was a ruler in Central India.[11] According to the Balodā plates[12] Udayana was the great grand father of Mahārāja, Tīvaradēva of the Pāṇḍava-dynasty. The Śirpur Gandhēśvara[13] inscription of the time of Śivagupta gives us the following genealogy of the Somavaṁśī kings of South Kośaḷa.–

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7. HCIP, Vol. III, p. 223.
8. Ibid.
9. EI, Vol. IX, p. 271.
10. Mirashi, V. V., op.cit., p. 217.
11. Kalanjar Inscription of Udayana, JRAS 1905, p. 621.
12. EI, Vol. VII, p. 103.
13. IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 179.



In this list the name of Tīvaradēva, the first great king of the Kośaḷa branch is omitted. He is another brother of Chandragupta and son of Nannadēva who is known from at least three of the records of Tīvaradēva.[13a] The Śirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription[13b] of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bāḷārjuna introduces us to the name of Raṇakēśarī another brother of Bāḷārjuna and the son of Harshagupta. In another Śirpur[13c] inscription a son of Bāḷārjuna named Śivanandin is mentioned. But he is not found in the genealogical list of the Somavaṁśīs. So from the copper plates discovered at Kośaḷa we may give the following genealogy of the Somavaṁśī kings of Kośaḷa.—



It is evident that the rulers of Mekaḷa and South Kośaḷa belonged to the same lineage i.e., the Pāṇḍu dynasty, but the exact relationship between these two branches

13a. Bonda plates, EI, Vol. XXXIV, p. 111 ; Rajim plates, CII, Vol. III, p. 291 ; Baloda plates, EI, Vol. VII, p. 103.

13b. EI, Vol. XI, p. 184.

13c. PR, ASI, WC, 1904, Ins. No. 2015, p. 49.

is not known. However it seems that Udayana, the earliest king of the dynasty of Kośaḷa flourished after Bharatabaḷa and was probably his son.[14] The Malga plates[15] of Sāmanta Indrarāja or Indrabaḷa helps us to some extent to draw a relationship between these two branches. In it the *Swarṇakāra* or the engraver of the charter is one Droṇaka son of Īśvara and again in the Bamhanī plate[16] of Bharatabaḷa, the *Swarṇakāra* is Mihiraka, son of Īśvara. From this one can infer that during the time of Bharatabaḷa Mihiraka, the elder son of Īśvara was the engraver and also remained in the office during the time of Udayana, son of Bharatabaḷa. Then he was succeeded to the post of his younger brother Droṇaka during the time of Indrarāja or Indrabaḷa. Apart from this, since Indrarāja is a familiar name among the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs and both the plates were discovered at the same locality (Bilaspur and Rewah in Madhya Pradesh) one may lead to think that Indrarāja and Bharatabaḷa might have belonged to one and the same family and Bharatabaḷa might be the grandfather of Indrarāja of the Malga plates.[17]

Now the question is under what circumstances the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings came to Kośaḷa. Owing to want of adequate evidence it is very difficult to give the reasons for which they left that Mēkaḷa region, but however this much is certain that after losing their hold of that region they moved to Kośaḷa and took shelter in the dominions of the Śarbhapuriyāns ruling over that region. This is proved by the Sārangarh plates[18] of Mahāsudēvarāja, son of Mahādurgarāja, the Śarbhapuriyān king, that one Indrabaḷarāja lived under him as his *Śrī-Mahāsāmanta, Sarvādhikārādhikṛita* and *Dūtaka*. From another record[19] of Mahāsudēvarāja it is known that in his 7th regnal year he favoured one respected person named Nanna. Thus it becomes clear that Indrabaḷa and his son Nannadēva lived as subordinate officers under the Śarbhapuriyān king Mahāsudēvarāja. The Malga plate[20] of Indrarāja which entitles him as *Sāmanta* undoubtedly proves that Indrabaḷa lived as a *Sāmanta*[21] under the Śarbhapuriyān king.

14. According to Dr. Mirashi, Udayana's son (Indrabaḷa) seems to have been named after his grandfather Bharatabaḷa whose name was Indra and Indrabala. This may be due to the custom in India that a grandson is often named after his grandfather. Mirashi, V. V., op.cit., p. 219.
15. E.I., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 209-214.
16. Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 132.
17. Rajaguru, S. N., *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV, p. 314.
18. IHQ, Vol. XXI, pp. 294-295.
19. Mahākośala Historical Society Plates, Vol. II, p. 43.
20. Rajaguru, S. N., op.cit., p. 318.
21. Some scholars disagree with this view on the ground that Lakshmaṇēśvara temple inscription at Khārod describes Indrabaḷa as an independent

That Udayana was ruling in Central India is evident by the Kālanjar stone inscription[21a] which records the construction of a Vishṇu temple by him there. It seems that Udayana ruled over the Central Provinces for a short period and his successors Indrabaḷa etc. came from Central India to South Kośaḷa and first entered the services under the Śarbhapuriyāns and gradually they occupied the whole of Kośaḷa. The post which was held by Indrabaḷarāja made him very powerful. Then taking advantage of the weak rule of the Śarbhapuriyāns during their later period, his successor Nannadēva overthrew king Mahāpravararāja and finally Tīvaradēva, the son and successor of Nannadēva, became the lord of entire Kośaḷa. In the Rājim[22] and Balodā plates[23] of his 7th and 9th regnal year Tīvaradēva is credited for having acquired the sovereignty of entire Kośaḷa. He was the first king of the dynasty to assume grand royal titles like *Sakaḷakośaḷādhipatī* etc. Tīvaradēva was a great king of the dynasty who not only was the lord of Kośaḷa but also had acquired Utkaḷa. It is known from the Adhavara plates[24] of his son Nannarāja that he secured the sovereignty of Utkaḷa by his own arms. He was succeeded by his son Nanna II, who after a short period was succeeded by his uncle Chandragupta, the younger brother of Tīvaradēva. After Chandragupta his son Harshagupta succeeded him. Harshagupta seems to have ruled for a short period and his son Bāḷārjuna Mahāśivagupta became the ruler of Kośala at an early age. Mahāśivagupta Bāḷārjuna ruled over a vast kingdom and his empire included the modern districts of Durg, Raipur, Bilaspur in the Madhya Pradesh and also a portion of Sambalpur district in Orissa. His reign was a prosperous period in the history of the Somavaṁśī kings.

Nothing is known certain about the immediate successors of Mahāśivagupta

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king. Therefore it is improper to identify Indrabaḷa with a Sāmanta. Nema, S. R., *Political History of the Somavaṁśī Kings of South Kośaḷa and Orissa*, p. 101.

But here it should be remembered that the Malgā plates of Indrarāja (who has been identified with Indrabaḷa the grandson of Bharatabaḷa) entitled him as the Sāmanta and not the king. Had he been an independent king he would have used such titles as used by any other independent king. May be, he being the Sāmanta of the Śarbhapuriyān king ruled as a feudatory ruler independently and for that the inscription at Khārod describes him as an independent ruler instead of a feudatory of the king.

21a. JRAS, 1905, p. 621.

22. CII, Vol. III, pp. 291-99.

23. EI, Vol. VII, p. 102.

24. EI, Vol. XXVIV, p. 113.

Bāḷārjuna, though a Śirpur inscription refers to a son of Bāḷārjuna as Śivanandin.[25] We get no reference of him in any other record of the period.

However the inscriptions belonging to the Somavaṁśīs found at the Sambalpur-Sonepur region helps us to some extent in connecting the history of the early Somavaṁśīs or the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Śrīpura with the later Somavaṁśī kings of Suvarṇapura because the later Somavaṁśī kings have the names of Śivagupta and Bhavagupta like those of the early Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings. Moreover they also claimed their descent from the family of Moon and suzerainty over Kośaḷa, as the earlier Somavaṁśī kings did. The inscriptions[26] of the later Somavaṁśīs refer to one Śivagupta the father of Janmējaya Mahābhavagupta as the first king of their dynasty. Gen. Cunningham[27] has identified this Śivagupta, the first king of the later branch with Bāḷārjuna, the last known ruler of the early dynasty.

We cannot definitely identify Śivagupta[28] (father of Janmējaya) with Bāḷrājuna Mahāśivagupta without any authentic evidence. However we can identify these two branches as belonging to the same lineage.[29] Inscriptional evidences are there to show that the Somavaṁśī kings are the direct descendants of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Kośala. Mahāśiva, Tīvaradēva in his Balodā and Rājim plates declared himself as belonging to Pāṇḍu dynasty ; other rulers of his dynasty call themselves as the

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25. PR, ASI, WC, 1904, Ins. No. 2015, p. 49.
26 EI, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95.
27. ASIR, Vol. XVII, pp. 17, 85, 87.
28. According to Hiralal, R. B., Mahāśivagupta Bāḷārjuna of the Śirpur branch may possibly be the grandfather of the titleless Śivagupta of the Katak inscriptions, EI, Vol. XI, pp. 186-7.

    B. C. Majumdar, and H. C. Ray have linked them with a gap of two and three generations respectively. JBORS, Vol. VI, part III, p. 337. Ray, H. C., *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 394-5. Lastly Fleet has rejected the identification of these two Śivaguptas having placed the later branch in between 1000-1100 A D. EI, Vol. III, p. 186.
29. Regarding the identification of these two branches also scholars have pointed out some objections. Whereas Bāḷārjuna has been placed sometime in the close of the 6th and first half of the 7th Century A.D. the members of the later branch have been assigned to the 10th Century A.D. The kings moreover have the epithet *Trikaḷingādhīpati* and never claim to have descent from the Pāṇḍuvamśīs. The seal of their early records bears not the Garuda or bull emblem although they were Saivas, but the Gajalaxmī symbol like that of the Śarbhapuriyāns and the Kaḷachuris. Bhandarkar, D. R., IA, Vol. LXI, p. 241, Ray, H. C., op.cit., p. 395.

descendants of the lunar race. Mahānnarāja II the son of Tīvaradēva described his father as being born in the family of the Moon or the Somavaṁśa.[30] Moreover as has been pointed out by Sri Rajaguru[31] even in the time of Bāḷārjuna the last ruler of the early branch the family epithet was mentioned as '*Somavaṁśa saṁbhavah*' and also the epithet '*Sītanśuvamsavimaḷambar*' of his Sēnakpat inscription has been curiously repeated in the Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti II of the later branch. Therefore the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis of South Kośaḷa belong to the lunar dynasty and the Somavaṁśis of the Sambalpur-Sonepur region are the descendants of the former.

Secondly regarding the difference of symbol though scholars have given different opinions we deny the fact because some of the later Somavaṁśis also had the emblem of the bull on their seals. As we see in the Mahākośaḷa historical plates of Mahābhavagupta[32] the symbol of a standing bull facing the proper right of a crescent Moon at the top. Therefore we can presume that in all probability the Somavaṁśis had not given up using the symbol of their ancestors and they might have had adopted the new style of the symbol of *Gajalaxmī* immitating their neighbours, the Kaḷachuris.

Though the early branch assumed the title of *Kośaḷādhīpati, Sakaḷa Kośaḷādhīpati* and never added the epithet of *Trikaḷingādhīpati* to their names like that of the later branch, we know from one of the copper plates of Janmējaya that he was also called *Kośaḷēndra*[33] instead of *Kośaḷādhīpati.* Moreover it is interesting to note that Bāḷārjuna, the last ruler of the early branch never used the title of Kośaḷādhipati in his record[34] nor did he use the epithiet of *Trikaḷingādhīpati.* It seems that during his period the Somavaṁśis lost some portions of Kośaḷa to their enemies for which they no longer remained the lords of entire Kośaḷa or *Sakaḷakośaḷādhīpatis.* After him his successors having acquired *Trikaḷinga* assumed the title *Trikaḷingādhīpati* till they lost their possessions to the imperial Gangas.

Moreover we can identify these branches as belonging to the same lineage from the use of the affix *Mahāśiva* or *Mahāśivagupta* and *Mahābhavagupta* alternatively. Thus we see in the early branch *Mahāśiva* Tīvaradēva[35] and his brother's

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30. EI, Vol. XXXI, pp. 219-22.
31. Rajaguru, S. N., op.cit., pp. 219-20.
32. Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta Janmējaya I, EI, Vol. III, p. 350.
33. Sirpur Stone Inscription, EI, Vol. XXXI, pp. 197-8. Sēnakpat Inscription Ibid, pp. 31-6 and other inscriptions of Bāḷārjuna.
34. CII, Vol. III, pp. 291-99.
35. EI, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.

grandson *Mahāśivagupta* Bāḷārjuna[36] and again a Śivagupta in the later branch and his successors who were all *Śivaguptas* and *Bhavaguptas*. Thus it seems that both the branches belonged to one and the same dynasty though it is difficult to restore the missing link between these two branches in the absence of any authentic evidences.

It is really tempting to identify *Śivagupta* with *Mahaśivagupta* Bāḷārjuna but we cannot agree with Gen. Cunningham that Janmējaya was the son of Bāḷārjuna because so far as inscriptional sources are available we know one 'Śivanandin' as the son of Bāḷārjuna and no where else we do get any reference of Janmējaya as the son or successor of Bāḷārjuna nor do we know anything in detail about Śivagupta, father of Janmējaya. Moreover on palaeographic ground scholars have placed a gap of two hundred years between these two persons. However we do not know under what circumstances the Somavaṁśīs of Śrīpura or the successors of Bāḷārjuna transferred their capital to Sūvarṇapura where again their records are found in the Sambalpur-Sonepur region with the rise of *Mahābhavagupta* Janmējaya. According to Dr. Mirashi the Bāṇas carved out a new kingdom for themselves in the Bilaspur district of Chattisgarh from where they ousted the Somavaṁśīs, who were obliged to move to the East and settle at Vinītāpura.[37] It will not be out of place to note here that although Tīvaradēva and his son Nannadēva II were called as *Sakaḷakośaḷādhīpatis* in their records, but after them none of their successors including Bāḷārjuna used the title of *Sakaḷakośaḷādhīpati* and after Bāḷārjuna the later branch in the Sambalpur region adopted a new title i.e. *Trikaḷingādhīpati* which is yet to be identified. Therefore it seems that after Nanna II the Somavaṁśī kings no more remained the lords of entire Kośaḷa though Śrīpura remained their capital as before till the time of Bāḷārjuna *Mahāśivagupta*. During his time the Kaḷachuris, the traditional enemies of the Somavaṁśīs most probably occupied the Śrīpura region. Having lost their dominions in the North and West of Kośaḷa, Bāḷārjuna's successors moved to the Sambalpur-Sonepur region.

Thus they ruled over a smaller territory comprising of the modern districts of Sambalpur and Bolangir in Orissa at the beginning of their rule. Gradually they could consolidate their power in these tracts and there after steadily penetrated into the coastal regions of Orissa. In course of time they occupied the whole of it. It was Janmējaya *Mahābhavagupta* I, who is considered as the founder of the Soma dynasty in Orissa.

36. CI, Vol. XXVII.
37. Mirashi, V. V., op.cit., p. 36.

Chapter Two

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE DYNASTY

The genealogy of the Somavaṁśī kings can be drawn with the help of their copper plates and stone inscriptions. We find 13 rulers of the dynasty from the inscriptions discovered so far, but we cannot ascertain exactly their relationship with one another and also the order of succession because in some of their charters we get only their surnames and we do not have any idea about their real names and very often one name is borne by more than one king[1] and one king is entitled with more than one name which would lead one to a lot of confusion. Due to this reason even though a large number of inscriptions were available a scientific genealogy could not be prepared earlier. But after a deep study of the inscriptions an attempt has been made to give a complete picture of the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty.

According to the Narasiṁhapur plates of Udyotakēśarī, Janmējaya became the king first and then his son Yayāti was followed by Bhīmaratha who again was succeeded by his son Dharmaratha. After Dharmaratha, his *bhrātā* (brother) Nahusha became the overlord of the country. He was succeeded by his *anuja* (cousin) Yayāti, who was chosen as the king of the countries of Kośaḷa and Utkaḷa, Yayāti was followed by his son Udyotakeśarī.

The *Brahmēśvara* temple inscription[2] also gives almost the same genealogy of the dynasty only omitting the name of Nahusha. The inscription furnishes one more information regarding Yayāti II, the father of Udyotakēśarī and cousin of Nahusa and Dharmaratha. Yayāti II is known as *Chanḍīhara*[3] in this inscription and is known as the son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vichitravīra and great grandson of Janmējaya.

1. The name of Yayāti is borne by no less two kings of this dynasty. So also the names of Janmējaya is borne by more than one king. Ratnagiri plates, EI, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263-64.
2. JBORS, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15.
3. *Chanḍīhara* of the Brahmēśvara inscription has rightly been identified with Yayāti of the Narasiṁhapur plates as in both the records he is mentioned as the father of Udyotakēśarī and given credit for having freed both the countries of Utkaḷa and Kośaḷa from the enemies.

There are some inscriptions[4] which confirm the genealogical list given by those records to some extent. But at some other places we do not have any evidence to prove the succession of some kings as their real names are totally omitted and only their titles such as *Śivagupta* and *Bhavagupta* which they used alternatively in addition to their names are given. The Mahākosala Historical society plates[5] of *Mahābhavagupta* and the Kuḍopali grant[6] of *Mahābhavagupta* son of *Mahāśivagupta* put scholars into great confusion and led them to give different opinions regarding their genealogy. The Khaṇḍapara[7] plates of Dharmartha does not mention his father's name except *Mahābhavagupta* so also Jatēsingā[8] and Dūngri plates of Yayāti *Mahāśivagupta* do not mention the name of his father except *Mahābhavagupta*.

The genealogical list of the ministers who served the Somavaṁśī kings will help us to a great extent in preparing the genealogy of the dynasty. From the charter of Janmējaya I we know that one Malla Datta (son of Dharā Datta) was his Mahāsandhivigrahī (Minister of Peace and War). He held the post till the 31st regnal year of Janmējaya after which he was succeeded by his son Dharā Datta II[9] who as we know from the record of Yayāti I was in service from the 34th regnal year of Janmējaya to the 8th regnal year of Yayāti's reign. Then in the 28th regnal year of Yayāti's reign we see Siṁha Datta[10] succeeding the post of Dharā Datta II. He remained the Sandhivigrahī of both Yayāti I and his son Bhīmaratha which we know from the Cuttack plates of *Mahābhavagupta* Bhīmaratha's 3rd regnal year.

Then we can further establish the link with the help of the Jatēsingā Dūngri plates of Yayāti II, whose Mahāsandhivigrahī was one Rudra Datta[11] (the brother's son of Siṁha Datta and grandson of Harsha Datta). It seems that Siṁha Datta was in service under Yayāti I and his son Bhīmaratha and his son Dharmaratha. Then most probably he was succeeded by his brother (name not known) who remained

4. From the Orissa State Museum plates, Patna Museum plates and other plates of Yayāti I, it is known that he was the son of Janmējaya and from the Cuttack plates of Bhīmaratha it is known that he was the son of Yayāti I. OHRJ, Vol. XII ; JASB, Vol. I (1905), pp. 14-16 ; EI, Vol. III, pp. 385-89.
5. EI, Vol. XXII, pp. 135-8.
6. Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 254-59.
7. OHRJ, Vol. XII, Nos. 5, 2 and 3.
8. JOBRS, Vol. II (1916), pp. 45-55.
9. Ibid., 34th regnal year.
10. Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, JASB, Vol. I (1905), pp. 8-12, pp. 9-33.
11. JBORS, Vol. II (1916), pp. 45-55.

the minister during the short rule of Nahusa and Indraratha the brothers of Dharmaratha. After that he was succeeded by his son Rudra Datta, who served both Chaṇḍīhara Yayāti II and his son Udyotakēśarī. Thus the identification of Rudra Datta of the Jatēsingā Dūngri plates and the Narasiṁhapura plates[12] suggest that *Mahāśivagupta* Yayāti, son of the *Mahābhavagupta* of the former record was no other than *Mahāśivagupta* Yayāti or Chaṇḍīhara Yayāti II, father of Udyotakēśarī.

The Bāṇpur Copper plates[13] of Indraratha further throw much welcome light on the Somavaṁśī genealogy. It is known from the inscription that he was the son of Bhīmaratha and another brother of Dharmaratha, who had appointed him as Governor of Kaḷinga, which he himself had wrested from an Oḍra king.

The Ratnagiri Copper plates[14] of Karṇadēva further carries and completes the genealogy of the Somavaṁśīs by the mention of three more rulers after Udyotakēśarī.

The donor of the Ratnagiri plates[14a], Karṇadēva was the last known ruler of the Soma dynasty. This Karṇadēva has rightly been identified with Karṇakēśarī of the *Rāmachvrita*.[15]

From Sonepur plates[15a] we come across one more ruler of this dynasty

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12. Ibid.
13. Previously scholars had given different opinions regarding this Indraratha, the Somavaṁśī king of Yayāti nagara, who was defeated by the Choḷa king Rājēndra Choḷa I (Sastri, N., *The Choḷas*, pp. 248-9). The newly discovered copper plate of Indraratha (JAS, Vol. VII, No. 4, p. 271) has totally disproved the views given by scholars (P. Acharya has attempted to identify him with Dharmaratha (JIH, Vol. XV, Part I, p. 12), D. C. Sircar with Nahusa (IHQ, Vol. XX, 1946, p. 303). D. C. Ganguli with Indraratha, a king of Ganjām unknown from any other source (HCIP, Vol. V, p. 66). However Dr. Panigrahi long before had rightly pointed out that he was probably another brother of Dharmaratha.
14. EI, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263-74, Verse 12 : To him was born a son king Janmējaya (Janmējaya II) whose lotus feet were kissed by the bees that were the sapphire jewels on the crests of kings bowing down to him. Verse14 : Then was his son Puranjaya, the best of men and the conqueror of the cities of enemies, whose feet were worshipped by the bowing kings. Verse 16 : His younger brother was king Karṇadēva...whose foots-tool was kissed by the mass of jewels embedded in the crest of the kings.

14a. EI, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263-74.

15. Rāmacharita, ed. by Sastri, H. P., Men, ABS, Vol. III, p. 1.

15a. EI, Vol. XII, pp. 237-42.

Somēśvara who ruled in the kingdom of Kośaḷa. It is stated in this record that Somēśvara a member of the Somavaṁśa ascended the throne of Kośaḷa after Abhimanyudēva who was made king in the country of Kośaḷa by the illustrious king Udyotakēśarī of the Somavaṁśa. From this statement it becomes clear that Somēśvara was a member of the colateral branch of the Soma dynasty ruling over Kośaḷa and he did not belong to the main line of the kings ruling over Utkaḷa. In the Sonepur plates, Kumara Somēśvara describes himself as a member of the *Somakūḷa*, however he does not mention his relationship with any Somavaṁśī king or even with Abhimanyu to whom he succeeded. Regarding the identification of Abhimanyu also we do not know whether he was the same of the Brahmēśvara temple inscription where he is referred as the grandfather of Udyotakēśarī or he was another Abhimanyu. In that case he might have been a grandson of the former Abhimanyu of the Brahmēśvara temple inscription. In either case Somēśvara[16] becomes a cousin of Udyotakēśarī.

Some more names into this dynasty are given by some scholars. Dr. Mahatab[17] has shown two more names like Raṇakā Balakēśarī and Chandra Kēśarī. So also Dr. Sircar[18] has given the names of Vīravarakēśarī and Raṇakēśarī. The Mādaḷāpānji[19] mentioned Sūvarṇakēśarī as the last ruler of the dynasty who was overthrown by Choḍagangadēva. However we do not find any of these names in any of the inscriptions or copper plates of our period. It seems that the title *Kēśarī* in all these names perhaps led these scholars to take them to be the Somavaṁśī rulers. But the use of the word *Kēśarī* in the name does not mean that he belonged to Soma dynasty because during the Bhaumakara period also there was one king known as Unmatto Siṁha or Unmattakēśarī (Sivakara I) but yet they belonged to the Bhauma dynasty and not the Soma dynasty. This analogy can easily be applied to the names which are supplied by Dr. Sircar. His reference to the names Vīravara *kēśarī* and Raṇakēśarī simply indicates that there were some people having such names yet without any relations with the Somavaṁśī kings.

The chronology of the dynasty which forms the very basis of its history still remains controversial and scholars have given different opinions on the matter. In the medieval period some of the ruling dynasties mentioned the eras in their

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16. According to Dr. Sircar the position of Somēśvara and Abhimanyu in the genealogy of the Somavaṁśīs cannot be determined but the later may have been a grandson of Abhimanyu son of Vīchitravīra and brother or cousin of Udyotakēśarī. IHQ, Vol. XXII, p. 305.
17. Mahatab, H. K., *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 176.
18. IO, Vol. III, p. 122.
19. *Mādalāpānji* (Prachi edition), p. 6.

charters, which helped a lot for fixing their dates. The charters of the Somavaṁśī kings mention only their regnal years and do not give any specific dates of these kings.

On palaeographic ground Fleet[20] has opined that 'the records of the dynasty can not possibly be placed before A.D. 900···that the characters are of the 11th century A.D. and the kings mentioned in them are to be placed somewhere between '1000 & 1100 A.D.' However, the chronology of the Soma dynasty can be fixed up only with the help of some events of their period and also by their relationship with the contemporary powers. One method of dating the Somavaṁśī rulers is by working backwards from Rājēndra Choḷa's invasion of Orissa and the mention of his defeating a ruler named Indraratha of this dynasty at *Yayātinagara*. If we will look further backwards it will be known that the last known ruler of this dynasty was the contemporary of Rampāḷa I, the Pāla king of Bēngal and Ananta Varman Choḍagangadēva of the Ganga dynasty.

To begin with it is known from a recently discovered copper plate[21] from Bolangir that Janmējaya I of the Soma dynasty flourished in the 10th century A.D. and that he was the contemporary of the Rāshtrakūta king Mugdhagonḍaḷadēva whose name cannot be traced in the Rāshtrakūta genealogy. It seems that he was a subordinate ruler of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty who remained a feudatory under Janmējaya I.

With the help of this copper plate we can say with certainty that Janmējaya I flourished in the 10th century A.D. and he cannot be placed before that period as has been advocated by some scholars. The records of Yayāti I contain certain references relating to contemporary events which will help us to some extent in fixing the dates of Janmējaya and Yayāti I. The Patna Museum plates[22] of Yayāti I issued in his 8th regnal year reveals his encounter with the Chēdis or the Kaḷachuris, who were their traditional enemy. In this record it is stated that Svabhāvatunga by his own valour became the king and spread the fortunes of Kośaḷa by defeating the Kaḷachuris. Then his son Yayāti defeated the powerful Kaḷachuri king Yūvarāja and burnt the Dahaḷa country and captured along with the soldiers, maid-servants and an elephant troop of the lord of Chēdi and brought them to his kingdom.[23] From the reference of this record it appears that Svabhāvatunga was the surname of

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20. EI, Vol. III, p. 336.
21. Not yet published. Preserved in the Orissa State Museum.
22. JASB, Vol. I (1906), pp. 15-16.
23. Panigrahi, K. C., *Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and Somavamsi kings of Orissa*, p. 2.

Janmējaya and the Chēdi king Yūvarāja was the contemporary of Janmējaya's son Yayāti[24].

The Bilhāri Stone Inscription[25] also reveals that the Kaḷachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja[26] II after defeating the king of Kośaḷa obtained an effigy of the serpent *kāliya* from the king of Oḍra. The Kaḷachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja flourished in the 10th century A.D. and it seems that Janmējaya of Kośaḷa was defeated by him. After that Janmējaya and his son Yayāti I again fought against the Chēdi king and burnt the Chēdi kingdom. So it becomes clear that Lakshmaṇarāja being the contemporary of Janmējaya, his son Sankaragaṇa III (970-980 A.D.) and Yūvarāja II[27] (980-990 A.D.) were the contemporaries of Yayāti I, the son of Svabhāvatunga alias Janmējaya.

Now with the help of the Tirumalai Inscription[28] of Rājēndra Choḷa, and in keeping in view the regnal years of the rulers as well as supported by the dates of Sankaragaṇa III (970-980 A.D.) and Yūvarāja II (980-990 A D.) we can safely fix the chronology of the Somavaṁśī kings atleast upto Indraratha. In the Tirumalai inscription it is stated that Rājēndra Choḷa captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the Moon with his family in a fight which took place at *Ādinagara* or *Yayātinagara*. The defeat of Indraratha has been mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājēndra Choḷa. The earliest mention of this event is made in the 12th regnal year of his reign corresponding to 1023 A.D.[29] As has been mentioned earlier the last known grant of Indraratha was issued in his 6th regnal year, which was not far from the date of the Choḷa invasion i.e. 1023 A.D. Therefore Indraratha might have ruled only for 6 years. From the Bālijhari and the Brahmēśvara inscriptions it is known that after the death of Dharmaratha, who died childless, his brother Nahusha succeeded him and ruled for a very short period, perhaps not more than one or two years. Then as we know, Nahusha's another brother Indraratha became the ruler. Thus the reigning period of both Nahusa and Indraratha accounts only 7 or 8 years. Before them Dharmaratha was the ruler who ruled for 11 years i.e, upto 1015 A.D. His

24. JASL, Vol. XIV, No. 2, p. 120.
25. EI, Vol. I, pp. 251-70.
26. Differing from this Dr. Panigrahi held the view that Sankaragaṇa I was the contemporary of Janmējaya (878-916 A.D.) and his son Yūvarāja I was the contemporary of Yayāti I (915-945 A D). To strengthen his statement he has put forward some arguments which appears more to be imaginary than based on evidence. Panigrahi, op.cit., pp. 3-4.
27. CII, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. LXXXVI, LXXXVII.
28. Sastri, N. K., *The Cholas*, pp. 248-9.
29. SII, Vol. III, p. 400.

father Bīmaratha reigned not less than 13 years and he must be placed between 991 to 1004 A.D. Thereby the reign period of Yayāti I falls between 963 to 991 A.D. and that of his father Janmējaya commenced in 929 A.D. to 963 A.D. The chronology of the Kaḷachuri kings, Sankaragaṇa III and Yūvarāja II[30] also corroborates these dates.

To fix the dates of Janmējaya and Yayāti I, some scholars have referred to the Baud plates of *Trbīhūvana Mahādēvi* dated in the Bhauma year 158. However we do not find any reason to rely upon this year of the Bhauma plate because different scholars give different views regarding the date of the Bhauma era. According to Sri Rajaguru[31] the Bhauma era started from 736 A.D. whereas Dr. Sircar[32] has fixed the starting of the Bhauma era in 831 A.D.

Now to complete the chronology of the later Somavaṁśīs starting from Indraratha to Karṇakēśarī the last ruler of this dynasty, we can refer to some of the inscriptions of the Gangas and the Pāḷa kings of Bēngal, who were the contemporaries of Karṇakēśarī.

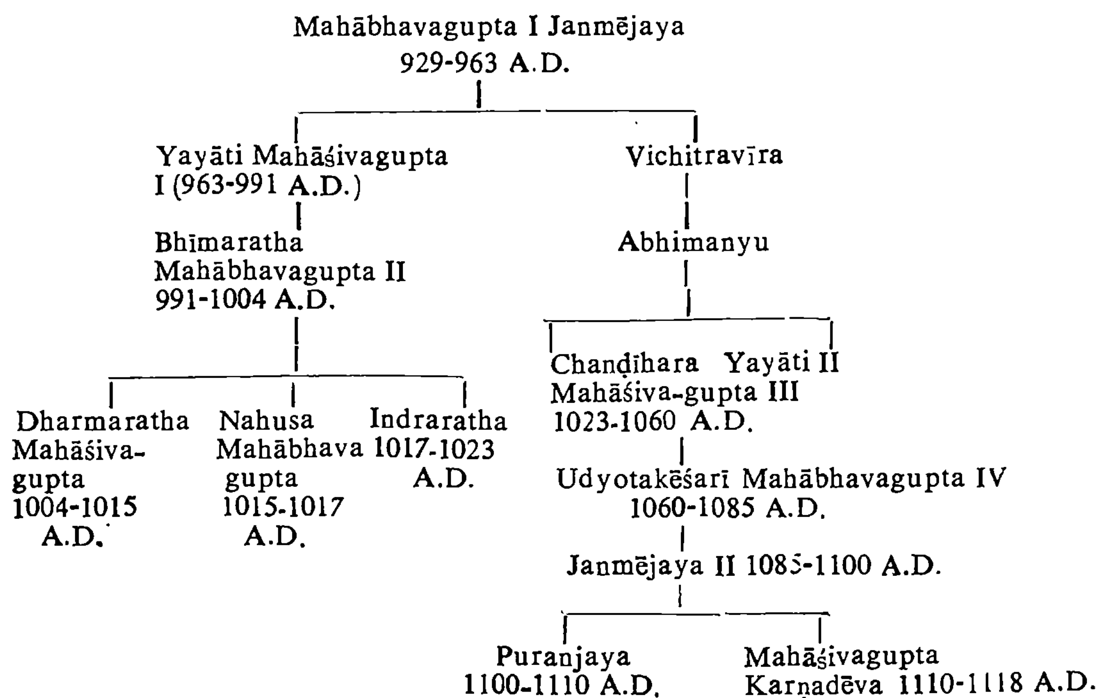
It is known from the commentary of Rāmacharita[33] that *Jayasiṁha* of Danḍakābhukti, the lieutenant of Rāmapāḷadēva lifted with his hand Karṇakēśarī, the lord of Utkaḷa. So it appears that Karṇakēśarī of Karṇadēva was the contemporary of Rāmapāḷadēva of Bēngal who flourished in 1077 to 1120 A.D.[34] Moreover it is also stated in the Rāmacharita that Rāmapāḷadēva did favour to the vanquished lord of Utkaḷa who was born in the family of *Bhavabhūsana* (Soma). This definitely proves the reign of the Somavaṁśī kings in Utkaḷa or Orissa during the time of Rāmapāḷadēva of Bēngal.

The Vizāgpātnam grant[35] dated 1118 A.D. of Anantavarman Choḍagangadēva describes him as decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty of the whole of Utkaḷa. It seems that Utkaḷa was annexed to the kingdom of the Gangas sometime before 1118 A.D. The last known ruler of Utkaḷa was Karṇadēva who is referred to as the fallen lord of Utkaḷa replaced by Choḍagangadēva in the Korṇi copper plate[36] dated 1112 A.D. Karṇadeva being a contemporary of both Rampāḷa (1077-

30. OHRJ, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 208.
31. Ibid.
32. EI, Vol. XXIX, p. 191.
33. *Rāmacharita*, p. 36.
34. HCIP, Vol. V, pp. 28-31.
35. IA, Vol. XVII, p. 165.
36. JAHRS, Vol. I, Part III, p. 123.

1020 A.D.) and Choḍagangadēva (1078-1147 A.D.) should be placed somewhere between the reigning periods of these two rulers. Karṇadēva had granted his last known grant in his 7th regnal year[37] which he must have had made before 1112 A.D. So we may fix the reign of Karṇadēva between 1100 to 1118 A.D.

After the end of the reign of Indraratha in 1023 A.D. till the rule of Karṇadēva in 1110 A.D. there ruled four kings of the dynasty for near about 87 years. From the Brahmēśvara inscription it can be ascertained that Udyotakēśarī might not have ruled less than 25 years. However we do not have any knowledge from the records about the reign period of the other 3 kings, *Chanḍīhara* Yayāti II and his grandson Janmējaya II and his great grandson Puranjaya. Though the only record found so far i.e. the Māranjamurā charter of Yayāti II Chanḍīhara is granted in his 3rd regnal year, but it is certain that he reigned for a much longer period which is revealed from his great achievements. But his grandson and great grandson Janmējaya II and Puranjaya both were very weak rulers who ruled for a very short period not more than 25 years. Thus the total reign period of Udyotakēśarī and his successors Janmējaya II and Puranjaya comes to 50 years and the remaining 37 years i.e. from 1023 to 1060 A.D. can be assigned to Yayāti II. We can therefore fix the chronology and genealogy of the Somavaṁśī kings tentatively as follows :



37. JOH, Vol. I, 1980, No. 1, pp. 1-6.

Chapter Three

ESTABLISHMENT OF POWER

As the Kaḷachuris occupied Śrīpura, the capital of the Somavaṁśis, had been forced to be shifted to the eastern part of Kośaḷa and thereafter to South Kośaḷa where their power was established. This South Kośaḷa seems to have comprised of the districts of Sambalpur and Bolānglr.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsāng[1] who visited Kosaḷa in 639 A.D. described the kingdom as 6000 li in circuit and about 1800 li away from the capital of Kaḷinga to the North West. On the basis of this description the boundary of Kośaḷa has been defined by Cunningham[2] as bounded by Ujjain on the North, by Mahārāshtra on the West, by Orissa on the East and by Andhra and Kaḷinga on the South. It extended to embrace the hilly districts of Manḍaḷa and Bēlāghāt on the West upto the banks of Wen-gangā and the middle valley of the Mahānadī on the East down to Sambalpur and Sonepur.[3] This territorial extent of Kośaḷa continued to be more or less the same under the Somavaṁśīs except the Śrīpura region, which they lost to the Kaḷachuris. The Sambalpur-Sonepur region known as South Kośaḷa in the Somavaṁśī charters included in it places like Kosira grāma, Sātallamā, Kosaḷaḍā, Tulanḍā, Vinītāpura, Sūvarṇapura, Murasimā, Kisarkellā, Arkigramā.[4] Places like Vaidyapaḍrakā and Khadirāpadraka are also found in the records.[5]

From South Kośaḷa the Somavaṁśīs moved towards Utkaḷa, which was also known as Tośāḷī and perhaps got possession of it from the insignificant weak rule of the Bhaumakaras.

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1. Beal, Samuel, *Travels of Hiuen Tsāng*, pp. 414-5.
2. Cunningham, A., Ancient Geography of India, p. 603.
3. Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XVII, pp. 68-9.
4. The places have been identified respectively with modern Kosir in the Chandrapur tract in Rāigarh district, Satalamā, Kusaraḍā, Tulanḍī, in Sambalpur and Binkā, Sonepure, Murasimā, Kesarkēlā, Arigan in Bolāngir district. Sahu, N. K., Utkal University, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 132.
5. Vaidya Paḍraka and Khadira Padraka have been identified with Vaija-padar and Khairāpadar in the modern Kaḷāhāndi district. Misra, B., *Orissa under the Bhaumakaras*, p. 8.

The kingdom of Tośāḷi was divided into two large administrative units viz. *Uttara* (Northern) and *Daksina* (Southern) Tośāḷi. We have several instances regarding the donation of land grants by the Somavaṁśī kings in these territories and divisions of the Bhaumakara kingdom. From the identification of gift villages mentioned in the Bhaumakara records it appears that Northern and Southern Tośaḷi under the Bhaumas was much wider than it has been defined by Dr. Sircar.[6] The kingdom of the Bhaumakaras included the modern Midnāpore district in the North, Kēonjhar, Ḍhēnkānāḷ and Baud-Phulbānī in the West, Ganjām in the South and the districts of Purī, Cuttack, Bālāsore in the East.

The river Mahānadi formed the dividing line between the two divisions of Tośāḷi. The Somavaṁśī kings penetrated into the kingdom from Kośaḷa through Daksina Tośālī and first occupied Oḍra[7] which formed a buffer state between Daksina Kośaḷa and Tośaḷa.

The country of Utkaḷa was under the rule of Bhaumakaras before it was merged with Somavaṃśī kingdom. The conditions of that period favoured a lot to Yayāti II in occupying the throne of Utkaḷa. Suvakara V was the last known male ruler of the Bhaumakara family.[8] He probably died issueless for which the throne after him passed successively to four queens, Gaurī Māhādēvi, Daṇḍī Mahādēvī, Vakuḷa Mahādēvi and Dharma Mahādēvī. From the history of the Bhaumakaras it is known that the downfall of the family was brought about more by the weakness and inefficiency of the later rulers of the family than by the absence of male issues in the dynasty. Taking advantage of the weak rule of the later Bhaumas, the feudatory chiefs under them asserted their independence and we notice the emergence of some autonomous states even within the Bhaumakara kingdom. A feudatory state known as *Khindārasaga*[9] *manḍaḷa* came into existence which comprised some

6. According to Sircar, the territory of Northern and Southern Tośaḷa roughly included modern Bālāsore, Cuttack, Purī and Ganjām districts. EI, Vol. XXX, 1951-52, p. 85.
7. Dr. Panigrahi has taken Oḍra and Utkala to be one and the same country. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 6. But it is not correct. However epigraphic sources show that Oḍra country is without doubt distinct from Utkaḷa. The records of the Bhaumakaras call their dominion as Tośāḷī and never mention it by the name of Oḍra. The Dirghasi inscription mention both Utkaḷa and Oḍra separately. EI, Vol. IV, p. 316.
8. Das, Bishwarup, *Bhaumakaras, the Buddhist kings of Orissa and their* times, p. 190.
9. Ibid., p. 191.

portions of Kongoda *maṇḍalu* a province under the Bhauma kingdom. Towards the close of the Bhaumakara rule the Naḷas who were vassals of the Bhaumas[10] tried to obtain their freedom and king Bhīmasēna declared himself as *Mahārājādhirāja* in his Pandiāpathara plate[11]. Also most probably the Khijjinga *maṇḍala* came into existence towards the close of the Bhauma rule as a feudatory state under the Bhanjas. It comprised portions of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar districts which were integral parts of the Bhauma kingdom.[12]

The extinction of the family of Bhaumakaras was brought about more by the domestic feuds fanned by external dangers than by the failure of male and female heirs. It is probable that after the death of Dharma Mahādēvī, the last known ruler of the dynasty there might be in unsettled conditions in Utkaḷa. Taking advantage of this situation many neighbouring kings tried to capture some portions of the Bhaumakara kingdom. The aggressive policy of the Chālukyas and the Choḷas from the South threatened the internal peace and order of Bhauma country. The Chālukya king Koḷḷabhigaṇḍa Vijayāditya invaded Virajāpurī under the Bhaumakaras[13] and Dēvapāḷa the Pāḷa king of Vanga from the North captured a portion of Northern Tośāḷī.[14] No progress of the Bhuamakaras in the cultural field in the later part of the rule indicates that the country perhaps suffered from internal chaos and confusion. Very little was contributed by them in the way of architectural construction at Bhubaneswar. The decoration of the *Jagamohana* of the Vaitāḷ temple was either interrupted by the enemies or left unfinished perhaps due to all these disturbances.

Under these unsettled conditions the nobles and warrior chiefs of the kingdom of Utkaḷa welcomed the Somavaṁśīs to take possession of the Bhaumakara kingdom and confer an orderly administration to the people.[15] Moreover both the families were related since the time of Janmējaya. Also Yayāti II was related to the Bhaumakaras through his mother or by marriage.[16]

Moreover the occupation of the throne of the Bhaumakaras by the Somavaṁśī kings was a slow and gradual process which took them some years for establishing

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10. OHRJ, Vol. XI, p. 10!.
11. Ibid , Vol. VI, pp. 99-100.
12. Das, B., op.cit., p. 191.
13. IHQ, Vol. XII, p. 489.
14. IO, Vol. IV, p. 316.
15. JBORS, Vol. II (1916), p. 45-55.
16. EI, Vol. XXXIII, p. 271.

themselves in the main lands of Orissa. It was Janmējaya *Mahābhavagupta* I who first came forward from Kośaḷa for preparing the ground for his successors by occupying the Oḍra country in Daksina Tośāḷī. Some scholars[17] give credit to Janmējaya as the real conqueror of Orissa by referring to his conquest of the Oḍra country. However we can not agree with the view of these scholars because no where in his inscriptions Janmējaya has been given credit for conquering the territories of Utkaḷa, Kongoda and Kaḷinga and the place names in his inscriptions found so far have been identified with the places situated in the states of Sonepur Patna and Sambalpur, Bolāngir districts. Till his 34th regnal year he was the ruler of Western Orissa only and his victory over the Oḍra country which was only a buffer state under the Bhanjas is mentioned in an inscription of his great grandson Udyotakēśarī.[18] Some scholars attribute Yayāti I, the son of Janmējaya as the real conqueror of Orissa or Utkaḷa and for this they trace the donation of the villages of Chanḍagrāma[19] in the Māradā *vishaya* of Daksina Tośāḷī in his 9th regnal year to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Sankhapani a resident of Śilabhanjapati[20] in the Oḍra country. Another inscription of the same king records the grant of a village in the Gāndhāta-pati *manḍaḷa*[21] (modern Gāndhāraḍi in the Baud state) in the Oḍra dēśa. The grant of these villages in the kingdom of the Bhaumakaras by Yayāti I led some scholars to believe that Yayāti I had already occupied Daksina Tośaḷa or the coastal regions of Orissa before making the land grants in a village situated in it.[22] Scholars[23] differ in their opinions regarding the circumstances under which Yayāti had made these land grants in the Tośāḷī country. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dr. Panigrahi at once place writes that Yayāti I having ousted Śatrubhanja

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17. (a) Majumdar, B. C., *Orissa in the Making*, p. 186, 'that Janmējaya became the overlord of Orissa by conquering Trīkaḷinga comprised of Utkaḷa, Kongoda and a considerable portion of Kaḷinga.'
    (b) Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 6. 'In plain words Janmējaya assumed the sovereignty of Orissa after killing its king with his Kunta.'
18. JRASB, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 63-74.
19. EI, Vol. III, p. 352.
20. Śilabhanjapati in the Oḍra country seems to have been founded by Śilabhanja II of the Bhanja dynasty. JBORS, Vol. XV, p. 85.
21. Gāndhātapati *manḍaḷa* is apparently named after Śatrubhanja I Gāndhāta of the Bhanja dynasty. EI, Vol. XI, p. 96.
22. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 30.
23. (a) Rajaguru, S. N., IO., Vol. IV, is of the opinion that 'as there was some internal disturbances and external fear for the invasion of the chēdis, the

from the Baud region built up the united kingdom of Kośaḷa and Utkaḷa and at another place credits Janmējaya, the father of Yayāti as the first sovereign ruler of Orissa. Moreover regarding the view of Dr. Panigrahi we do not know how it will be possible for Yayāti I, the brother and also the contemporary of Trībhūvana Mahādēvī II the Bhaumakara queen, to annex the kingdom of Utkaḷa with Kośaḷa when no less than two male and four female rulers though for a short period ruled over the Bhaumakara kingdom after Trībhūvana Mahādēvī II.[24]

Neither Janmējaya nor Yayāti I can be said as the real conqueror of Utkaḷa or Orissa. Although there is no doubt as far as inscriptional sources are concerned that they had some control over some portions of the Bhauma kingdom. There is nothing to be surprised when Yayāti I made land grants in the Oḍra country, which had been already occupied during the time of Janmējaya. Yayāti I was more ambitious than his father and he wanted to expand his kingdom to the coastal regions of Orissa at the cost of the Bhaumakaras. After occupying the Khinjali *manḍaḷa* from the Bhanjas the feudatories of the Bhaumas, Yayāti I occupied Chanḍi-grāma in Daksina Tośāḷī in his 9th regnal year. But simply because he donated a small village in a *visaya* of Daksina Tośāḷī does not mean that Yayāti I had occupied whole of Tośāḷī before that. Even if he had got control over Daksina Tośaḷa which is indicated by his land grants there is no evidence to show that he had under him any part of Uttara Tośāḷī of the Bhauma kingdom.

As far as inscriptional sources are concerned we know that neither Janmējaya nor Yayāti I have been given any credit for the annexation of Utkaḷa with Kośaḷa, though they have been praised in high sounding words in their records for gaining victory over the countries like Dahaḷa.[25] It was Yayāti Chanḍīhara II, the great

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Bhaumakara queen Trībhūvan Mahādēvī had taken shelter in Kośaḷa under the protection of her brother. Therefore there was no need for Yayāti I to take permission of his sister to grant lands in his sister's kingdom'.

(b) Sircar, D. C., HCIP, Vol. IV, p. 149. Trībhūvana Mahādēvī succeeded in occupying the Kara throne with the active help of her father Yayāti I possibly in connection with his victory against his daughter's rival for the Kara throne, the Somavaṁśī monarch granted the village Chanḍa-grāma in Daksina Tośaḷa.

24. Misra, B., op.cit., p. 65.
25. JASL, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1953, p. 117.

grandson of Janmējaya who has been eulogised in not less than three records of the dynasty for becoming the chosen lord of the countries of Utkaḷa and Kośaḷa.[26]

The mention of Rudra Daṭṭa as minister for both the countries of Utkaḷa and Kośaḷa in the early years of Udyotakēśarī's reign is interesting as the earlier Daṭṭa Ministers were only incharge of the Kośaḷa country. From this one can well infer that the Utkaḷa country formed a part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom during the time of Chanḍīhara Yayāti II, father of Udyotakēśarī.[27]

By the amalgamation of Utkaḷa with Kośaḷa, the Somavaṁśīs became a formidable power and their prestige increased considerably.

The kingdom of Kongoda is separately mentioned like any other country in the Somavaṁśī charters but Kongoda by that time had no independent status. In ancient times Kongoda was regarded as the capital of the Sailodbhava kingdom. It is identified with modern Bāṇapur.[28] However Kongoda was reduced to a mere province or a *manḍaḷa* during the reign of the Bhaumakaras and it roughly comprised the Northern portion of Ganjām district as well as the Southern portion of Purī district.

Another country over which the Somavaṁśīs claimed their sovereignty was Kaḷinga. From the accounts of Hiuen Tsāng it is known that Kaḷinga lay at a distance of 1400 or 1500 Li to the South West of Kongoda. The country was about 8000 Li in circuit while its capital was 20 Li in circumference...[29]. Scholars[30] are

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26. (a) The Narasiṁhapur plates of Udyotakēśarī states that Yayāti was elected as king of the two countries of Utkaḷa and Kośaḷa by the warrior chiefs. JBORS, Vol. XVII, p. 18.
(b) The Brahamēsvara inscription also informs us of the same things. JRASB, Vol. XIII, No. 2, p. 93.
27. HCIP, Vol. V, p. 211.
28. OHRJ, Vol. XIII, p. 30. We know that the Somavaṁśīs had full control over the Bāṇapur region. Bāṇapur copper plate of Indraratha, JAS, Vol. VII, p. 267.
29. Beal, S., *Hiuen Tsāng travels in India*, p. 199.
30. (a) Cunningham identified the chief town with Rājamahēndrī on the Godāvarī or with Koningā on the sea coast. Sircar, D.C., op.cit., p. 516.
(b) Fleet identified the place with modern Kaḷingapatam on the sea coast of Ganjām district. EI, Vol. III, p. 355.
(c) Sri G. V. Ramamurty states that the site covered by the villages of Mukhalingām and Nagarkatakām on the left bank of Vamsadhārā river represents the ancient capital of Kaḷinga. EI, Vol. IV, p. 187.

not unanimous regarding the identification of Kaḷinga. But from the inscription of Indraratha it is known that he was appointed as the Governor of Kaḷinga which in other words mean Kaḷinga was within the jurisdiction of the Somavaṁśīs.[31]

The Somavaṁśī kingdom thus extended from Midnāpore district in the North to portions of Ganjām and Vizāgpātām district in the South and from the Sambalpur-Sonepur and Rāipur districts in the West to the sea in the East. In the palmy days of the Somavaṁśīs their kingdom was fairly extensive and they were the masters of the entire sea coast territories from Daṇḍakābhukti to Kaḷinga.

CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM

From the records of the early Somavaṁśī kings or the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings of Kośaḷa it is known that Śrīpura[32] was their capital. But after the occupation of Śrīpura by the Kaḷachuris of Dahaḷa, the Somavaṁśīs shifted themselves to the eastern quarter and we know after that they established their political power in the modern Sambalpur-Sonepur region. Then they gradually extended their sway to the seashore and in due course of time became the masters of whole of Orissa.

It is evident from the records of the period that they did not have any permanent capital as their charters were issued from different places like Sūvarṇa-pura, Murasimā, Vinītāpur, Yayātinagara etc. The earliest known record of the dynasty was issued by Janmējaya I in his 3rd regnal year from Sūrvarṇapura, identified with modern Sonepur.[33] From the sixth to the 17th regnal year Murasimā[34] was the royal residence where from the Kalibhana[35], Nagpur[36], and Patna museum[37] plates were granted. Then we see him issuing his charters from the 17th to the 31st regnal year of his reign from a place known as *Vijayakataka*. Some scholars[38] were of the opinion that Katak for sometime was the capital of the

31. Most probably Kaḷinga mentioned in the Somavaṁśī charters comprised the Southern portions of the Ganjām district.
32. Śrīpura has been identified with modern Śirpur on the bank of the River Mahānadī, 37 miles Northeast of Rāipur about 30 miles off the border of Sambalpur, Sahu, N. K., op.cit., p. 135.
33. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95.
34. B. Misra locates the place Murasimā at Moorsima on the bank of the ong in the Patna State. Misra, B., '*Dynastics of Medieval Orissa*', p. 66.
35. IHO, Vol. XX (1944), pp. 238-240.
36. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 133.
37. JASB (1905), Vol. I, pp. 4-6.
38. Ibid, pp. 66-68 ; EI, Vol. III, p. 341.

Somavaṁśī kings as the word Katak occurs in naming the place from where the records were issued. However R. D. Banerjee has refuted this view on the ground that the word Katak is used in the sense of an 'encampment' and not a proper name.[39] We agree with the opinion of Dr. Banerjee because so far we have no evidence to show that Katak (now pronounced as Cuttack) was included in the dominions of Janmējaya I. Moreover another point is that the Kālibhana plate of Janmējaya (the last known record of his reign) was issued in his 34th regnal year and the place of issue of the grant is mentioned as *Sūvarṇapura-Vijayakataka* which clearly indicates that *Vijayakataka* meant the 'victorious encampment' and it is wrong to take them to be two different places.

His son Yayati I made Vinītāpura his capital and resided there upto his 15th regnal year. This Vinītāpura has been identified by scholars with Binkā, a small town on the Mahānadī river in the old Sonepur State. After this in all the records of the dynasty except one or two, Yayātinagara figures as the royal residence of the Somavaṁśī kings. From his 15th year Yayati I shifted his capital to a new place and named it after him as Yayātinagara. This place has been identified with different places by different scholars. Hiralal[40] and R. D. Banerjee are of the opinion that Vinītāpura was renamed as Yayātinagara during the reign of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I. But this view cannot be accepted as Vinītāpura has already been identified with Binkā. Fleet[41] considers Yayātinagara to be a fanciful name of Cuttack. B. Misra[42] is of the opinion that Yayātinagara was in the vicinity of Sonepur where from abundant archaeological materials have been unearthed. Long ago Cunningham[43] held the view that in the early part of the 6th century A.D. R ja Jajāti Kēśarī established a new capital at Jajātipur on the Vaitārani river which still exists under the abbreviated name of Jājipura. So also Dr. Sircar says 'Jājpur seems to be a corruption of the name Yayātipura, which is again practically the same as Yayātinagar, both meaning the city of Yayāti.'[44] It is well known that Virajā or modern Jājpur was the political headquarter of the Bhaumakara kings of Tośāḷī. Therefore some scholars[45] have presumed that when the Somavaṁśī kings succeeded the Bhaumakaras they transferred their capital from Vinītāpura to Virajā and renamed it as Yayātinagara after his name.

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39. Banerjee, R. D., op.cit., pp. 210-11.
40. EI, Vol. XI, p. 189.
41. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 355.
42. Misra, B., op.cit., p. 75.
43. Cunningham, A., op.cit., p. 432.
44. Sircar, D. C. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 147.
45. Panigarhi, K. C., op.cit., p. 14 ; Das, B., op.cit., p. 101.

As a matter of fact their views have been based on the references from some Oriya literatures[46] as well as from the Muslim chroniclers.[47]

On the basis of inscriptional as well as historical evidences we can certainly discard the view of scholars who mention Jājpur to be Yayātinagara. Firstly because the inscription distinctly mentions that Yayātinagar stood on the bank of river Mahānadī[48] whereas Jājpur is situated on the Vaitaraṇī river, a tributary of the Mahānadī. Secondly because Yayātinagara figures as the capital of the Somavaṁśī kingdom only in the 24th regnal year of Yayāti I's reign and at that time the Bhaumakaras were still ruling there over the kingdom of Tośāḷī with their capital at Jājpur. No less than 6 rulers of the Kara dynasty ruled after Tribhūvana Mahādēvī who was the sister and contemporary of Yayāti I. Therefore how it will on the part of the Somavaṁśīs be possible to occupy the capital before the complete conquest of the kingdom and this was achieved only during the time of Yayāti II, the grandson of Yayāti I. Lastly the Yayātipāṭṭana of this Oriya work[49] cannot be identified with Yayātinagara because the meaning of *pāṭṭana* and *nagara* is quite different. Moreover Yayātipāṭṭana as described in that work was situated on the bank of Vaitaraṇī, whereas Yayātinagara as known was on the Mahānadī. Most probably Jājpur is taken to be a Yayātipāṭṭana or Yayātinagara on account of the meritorious deeds of Yayāti Kēśarī or Yayāti II, later on at that place.[50]

Some scholars[51] have located Yayātinagara in the South Kośaḷa country of the Somavaṁśī kings. But the Tirumalai inscription of Rājēndra Choḷa refers that

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46. Simha, R., *Mahābhārata Vānaparva*, p. 144. It is stated in this Oriya work that anybody who visit Yayātipatna gets the same merit as accrue from the *Aswamēdha* sacrifice.
47. In some Muslim chronicles Yayātinagara was called as Jājnagar, IHQ, Vol. XXII, p. 307.
48. Mahānadī-tunga-taranga-bhanga-sphar-ochchhah - chikaravadbhir - arat, yasmin = rat—asaktimad-anganana, (n) Sra (sra) m = a (Pa) nodah, kri (kri) yate-marudbhih, Tasmat Śrī-Yayātingarat. (Text lines, pp. 10-12, EI, Vol. III, p. 356).
49. Simha, R., op.cit., p. 144.
50. There is a tradition still current at Jājpur that Yayāti brought ten thousand *Brāhmins* from Kanauj and performed a ten horse sacrifice. There is still a ghāt on the Vaitaraṇī river at Jājpur known as Dasāswamēdha Ghāta. The construction of the Saptamātrikā temple is also attributed to the rule of the Somavaṁśī kings. JKHRS, p. 168.
51. (a) Rai Bahadur Hiralal identifies Yayātinagara with Binka in the Old Sonepur State, EI, Vol. XI, pp. 18[illegible]-189.

the capture of Yayātinagara, the capital of the Somavaṁśī kings led to the conquest of *Oḍḍavishaya* and from *Oḍḍavishaya* he proceeded to Kośalāinadu (Kośaḷa).[52] From this it becomes clear that Yayātinagara was not situated in Kośaḷa, as Rājēndra Choḷa moved to Kośaḷa after the capture of Yayātinagara through Oḍra.

In all probability it seems that the extension of the Somavaṁśī kingdom during the time of Yayāti I as far as the Southern Tośaḷi in the East necessitated a more centralised headquarter than Vinītāpura. Therefore he must have transferred his capital to a place within the conquered territories in the Bhaumakara kingdom. The location of this place[53] between the Gāndhātapati *manḍaḷa* and the right bank of the Mahānadī is not acceptable because even though it was already under the control of the Somavaṁśīs since the time of Janmējaya they never made it their capital. This becomes evident from the mention of Yayātinagara as their capital only in the 24th regnal year of Yayāti I's reign. This shows that Yayāti wanted a much more suitable place than Gāndhātapati *manḍaḷa* in the Oḍra country for making his capital. It is only after he got possession of some places in the modern Cuttack district that he founded there the capital after his name.

In his 9th regnal year Yayāti I granted the village Chanḍagrāma in the Māraḍā *vishaya*[54] of *Daksina* Tośaḷa. Now we may identify Yayātinagara with Chaudwār in the Cuttack district. Yayāti might have chosen that place because of its natural situation. Enemies had to reach the capital crossing the Mahānadī which was a principal natural barrier. Dhoyi, a court poet of king Lakshmaṇa Sēna of Bēngal had given a beautiful description of the city of Yayātinagara where tall *Guvaka* trees were found entangled by creepers of betel leaves in his *kāvya*, *Pavandūtam*.[55] On the basis of his description also Yayātinagara may be identified with Chaudwār, a place of strategic and archaeological importance between the rivers Virūpā and Mahānadī, which is still now abounded with gardens of betel leaves.[56]

(b) Pandit L. P. Pandeya identifies it with the village of Kēsarkēlā about six miles to the East of Bolāngir in the Sambalpur district, EI, Vol. XXII, pp. 135-138.

52. EI, Vol. XI, p. 232.
53. Dr. Sahu, locates Yayātinagara between Gāndhātapati *manḍaḷa* and the right bank of Mahanadi and has identified it with a village known as Jāktinagar, Sahu, N. K., op.cit., pp. 137-38.
54. Chanḍagrāma and Māradā *Vishaya* have respectively been identified with Chanḍgāon 32 miles South East to Cuttack and Māraḍā or Māraḍā,—Hariharapur situated in the Cuttack district. Misra, B., op.cit., p. 68.
55. JRASB, Vol. I, p. 41.
56. Das, M. N. (Ed), *Sidelights on the history and culture of Orissa*, p. 549.

Chapter Four

THE RULE OF THE DYNASTY AND ITS DOWNFALL

Janmējaya Mahābhavagupta (929 to 963 A.D.):

Janmējaya *Mahābhavagupta* I ascended the throne of *Daksina* Kośaḷa after his father Sri *Śivaguptadēva*. Janmējaya seems to be the first ruler of the dynasty after the establishment of an independent kingdom by *Mahāśivagupta* Bālārjuna in the Eastern part of *Daksina* Kośaḷa comprising the Sambalpur tract of Western Orissa with its capital at Sonepur (*Sūvarṇapura*) He was also the first ruler of the dynasty, who assumed the title of *Trīkaḷingādhīpati.*[1] He is known to us from records belonging to himself as well as from the records belonging to the other members of the family. He ruled from 929 to 963 A.D. He got ample time during this long period to consolidate his power in the kingdom. He defeated his enemies and extended the Somavaṁśi kingdom considerably.

Though from the records left by him we cannot know much about his political achievements, yet his achievements are known from the inscriptions of his successors. Janmējaya is credited for defeating the king of Oḍra[2] in a hotly contested battle. The place names of Oḍra *dēsa* as mentioned in the charters[3] of

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1. Scholars hold divergence of opinion about the country of *Trīkaḷinga.* Besides the later Somavaṁśī kings, the Gangas of Kaḷinga and the Chēdis also took pride in calling themselves the lords of *Trīkaḷinga* or *Trīkaḷingādhīpati.* However taking into consideration the extent of the empire of Janmējaya, we may presume that the territory of *Trīkaḷinga* must be abutting on the Kośaḷa kingdom on the west and Kaḷinga kingdom on East. JBORS, Vol. XIV, p. 545.
2. Regarding the identification of Oḍra and its ruler, scholars differ in their views. Dr. Panigrahi has identified Oḍra with Utkaḷa or Orissa and its ruler with the Bhaumakara king Sivakara III who was killed by Janmējaya for the succession of his daughter Trībhūvana Mahādēvī to the throne of Utkaḷa. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 6. The view of Dr. Panigrahi is untenable because at first his identification of Oḍra country is proved wrong thereby the identification of the king also goes wrong. See Chapter III, No. 32, JHRJ, Vol. XIII.
3. Orissa State Museum Plates of Yayāti I, Cuttack plates of Yayāti I. EI, Vol. III, pp. 351-5.

the Somavaṁśī kings are identified with the villages in the modern Baud region, which was then under the rule of the Bhanjas.

The Bhanjas were the feudatories of the Bhaumakara kings and were ruling in Khinjali *maṇḍala* which was very close to the Somavaṁśī kingdom in South Kośaḷa. Thus the kingdom of the Bhanjas formed a buffer State between the Somavaṁśīs and the Bhaumakaras. Janmējaya tried to expand his territory in Western Orissa towards the East at the cost of the Bhanjas, who became his victims. The last Bhanja king was Raṇabhanjadēva after whom his descendants were driven away from Dhritipura to Vānjulvāka in the Ganjām region.[4] After the defeat of Raṇabhanjadēva by Janmējaya the Baud region was added to the Somavaṁśī empire and thus paved the way for the conquest of Utkaḷa.[5]

In his 31st regnal year he issued three plates from a place known as Ārama Kataka, which B. Misra and Mahatab have identified with Chaudwār Katak. But it is difficult to say that Cuttack was included in the dominions of Janmējaya I. The word 'Katak'[6] used also in other charters of Janmējaya most probably meant an 'encampment' and was not the name of any place.

Janmējaya had also subdued the Chēdis or the Kaḷachuris, who had an encounter with him.[7] He with the help of his general Lakshmaṇa defeated the Kaḷachuri lieutenants headed by one Bhaṭṭa Pēdi, who had carried away a number of women from the Somavaṁśī kingdom. It is already shown that his Kaḷachuri contemporary was Lakshmaṇa Rāja II.[8]

In the Bilhari stone inscription also it is stated that Lakshmaṇa Rāja II once defeated Janmējaya, king of Kośaḷa. Janmējaya though defeated was not depressed. He collected his military forces and again took revenge by invading and defeating the Chēdi king.

In this way annexing the Oḍra country to his kingdom he proved the way for his successors to occupy whole of the Bhaumakara kingdom, Tośāḷī in due course

4. Sircar, D. C., HCIP, Vol. IV, pp. 71-73.
5. The name of *Oḍra-dēsa* for the first time occurs in the Charter of Janmējaya in his 8th regnal year. Thus before his 9th regnal year the Bhanjas were overpowered by Janmējayadēva. Nagpur Museum Plates, EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-43.
6. IHQ, Vol. XX, pp. 245-50.
7. Patna Museum Plates of Yayāti I. JASB, Vol. I (1905), New Series, pp. 14-16.
8. Lakshmaṇa Rāja II flourished in 945-970 A.D. according to the chronology fixed by Dr. Mirashi. Mirashi, op.cit., p. LXXXVI.

of time. He was a great king of the dynasty who fought with and defeated many contemporary powerful rulers. That he exercised unlimited powers within his kingdom and was a mighty ruler is evident from the titles which he assumed like *Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājadhirājā, Trikaḷingādhīpati* etc.[9] In the records of the latter member of the family he is given great regard and respect because of his valuable contributions to the Soma dynasty. He not only annexed new territories but also consolidated them.

Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I (963 to 991 A.D.)

Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I ascended the throne of Kośaḷa after his father Janmējaya I in 963 A.D. and ruled upto 991 A.D. After becoming the king, he further carried out the expantionist policy of his father.

In the Patna Museum plates[10] of his 8th regnal year he is compared with God Vishṇu, who killed the *epic-chaidya* or Śiśupāḷa in the *Rājasūya Yajña* performed by Yudhistira. After his father's death the Chēdis or the Kaḷachuris still continued to be a danger ; therefore, he having valued the turbulant Chaidyas nothing more than a mere straw, burnt that country, ruining it to desolation.

Then he extended his power in the East at the cost of the Karas, whose power was fast declining. In his 9th regnal year[11] he donated the village of Chanḍagrāma in the Māradā *Vishaya* in Daksina Tośaḷa in favour of a *Brāhmaṇa*, who was a resident of Siḷabhanjapati in the Oḍra country. From this it becomes clear that by his 9th regnal year, Yayāti had already got control over some portions of Daksina Tośaḷa, which formed an integral part of the dominions of the Karas.

The Nibina plates[12] of Yayāti I records the grant of a village in the Gāndhāta-pati *manḍaḷa* which was named after Satrubhanja I Gāndhāta of the Bhanja dynasty. The donation of these villages undoubtedly proved that after the occupation of the Oḍra country, Yayāti I steadily penetrated into the Kara empire and got success in occupying some parts of the kingdom due to the weak rule of the later Bhaumakara rulers.

9. Paramāhēśvara - paramabhattāraka-mahārājadhīrājā-somakūḷatiḷaka- trī-kaḷingādhīpati-paramēśvara-śrī mahābhavagupta-rājadēva : kusali. (IHQ Vol. XX, p. 242, Vol. LL, pp. 10-13).
10. JASB, Vol. I (1905), pp. 14-16.
11. Cuttack Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, EI, Vol. III, pp. 351-5.
12. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 95-8.

The Patna Museum plate[13] of his 28th regnal year states that he had defeated one Ajapāḷa in a battle after capturing alive 32 big elephents named Kāmadēva etc. The king Ajapāḷa is not identified with any king of that name but he might be a local chief or a feudatory ruler like that of the Oḍra king, who was killed by Janmējaya I.

Yayāti I was a great warrior and had many successful encounters with the Kaḷachuris and many other rulers. He was responsible for the extension of the Somavaṁśī power in Orissa. He stands as the head of the dynastic list of the Somavaṁśī Rājās of Orissa in the *Mādaḷāpānji*, because the peaceful administration of the country began with Yayāti I and not with Janmējaya, the first ruler. In the Patna Museum plates[14] he is praised as one, 'whose glory was sung in all the three worlds, who defeated his enemies with contempt as it were and whose sword had its sharp edge made rugged with the pearls coming out of the foreheads of the elephants rent asunder by it.'

Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta I (991 to 1004 A.D.)

Yayāti I *Mahāśivagupta* was succeeded by his son Bhīmaratha *Mahābhavagutpta* I. The records of his time discovered so far do not give us much information about his political activities. But in the Khanḍaparā plates[15] of his son Dharmaratha he

13. JASB, Vol. I (1905), pp. 8-12, 19-23.
14. Ibid., pp. 8-12, 19-23.
15. JASB, Vol. VII, June 1837, pp. 557-562. Dr. Nema (Nema, S. R., op.cit. See chapter X, p. 210) while writing about the political activities of Bhīmaratha has referred to the Khanḍaparā plates of his son Dharmaratha and has mentioned that the plates refer to the victories of Bhīmaratha over the neighbouring countries of Andhra and Gauḍa and thereby unnecessarily has explained the political condition prevailing in those countries. But as a matter of fact the Khanḍaparā plates no where do mention anything about any political achievement of Bhīmaratha except these poetic phrases and rather it is very clearly mentioned there that Dharmaratha, the son and successor of Bhīmaratha followed the principle of truth and fortitude and was consequently not afraid of Kāḷi and burnt the towns of Gauḍa and Āndhra (Khanḍaparā Plates, OHRJ, Vol. XII, p. 60). Moreover the editor himself of the plate writes regarding Bhīmaratha that he (Bhīmaratha) does not appear to have made any conquest or undertaken any military campaign. In the Narasinghpur charter he is said to have built pillars of victory on all sides beyond that kingdom through frontier guards. His activities were thus confined to his frontier (Ibid., pp. 60-68). This shows that Dr. Nema

is praised as 'religious, courageous, valorous, who performed wonderful activities and assumed the status of *Dēvarāja* (Īndra)'. So also the Brahmēśwara inscription describes him as the 'Kalpa tree of the kaḷi age and crown jewel of the princes, who was a hero and destroyer of his enemies and who had qualities of a *Mahārathi.*'

Any way Bhīmaratha was also a great king of the dynasty who maintained the integrity of the kingdom. He ruled for near about 13 years, i.e., from 991 A.D. to 1004 A.D. and his dominions extended from the South of Rāipur district to Bāmrā in Orissa.

Dharmaratha (1004 to 1015 A.D.)

After Bhīmaratha, his son Dharmaratha became the ruler of the kingdom. His records also do not throw much light on his career. In his 11th regnal year he granted a village in the Antaruda *vishaya* which is identified with Antarudra *pargana* of the Pūrī district which was then under the Bhaumakaras. Therefore it appears that following the policy of his predecessors, Dharmaratha had also occupied some territories of the Bhaumakaras.

As had been already mentioned Dharmaratha took aggressive steps against the countries of Gauḍa and Āndhra. The king of Gauḍa or Vanga is identified[16] with Vigrahapāḷa II, the successor of Gopāḷa II. It is said that during the calamity, which caused weakness in the Pāḷa kingdom, Dharmaratha, burnt the city of Gauḍa and defeated the king of that country. His contemporary rulers in the South are taken to be the Eastern Chālukyas. Kollabhiganḍa Vijayāditya of the Chālukya dynasty was the ruler who was defeated by Dharmaratha in Āndhra.[17]

Dharmaratha was a mighty ruler, who is described in the *Brahmēśwara* temple inscription as the second Parasurāma and in the Narasiṁhapur charter[18] he is stated

has not properly read the translations of the Khanḍaparā plates. So also Mr. Rajguru has done the same mistake while translating the Pātna plates of Yayāti I he has credited Yayāti I for having defeated Ajapāḷa and when writing the historical note on the Somavaṁśī king Bhīmaratha, he refers to the Khanḍaparā plates of Dharmaratha, son of Bhīmaratha and states that in it, it is mentioned that he (Bhīmaratha) defeated a king named Ajapāḷa from whom he got 32 big elephants including one Kāmadēva. This type of writings would lead one to great confusion.

16. Rajaguru, S. N., op.cit., p. 376.
17. Ibid., p. 178.
18. Set-ūpanta-van-antare himavatah paryanta bhusimani prag-ambhodhi-tati-vanesu katake purvacetaraksma bhrtah yasy=Ottmyadarati (ti)-raja

'to have driven away the enemies to far off regions and have became the master of the coastal regions from the Himalayas on the North to the Sētūbandha in the South and the sea on the East and hills on the West.' The above statement is confirmed to some extent because of Dharmaratha's expeditions to the countries of Gauḍa and Andhra.

Nahusa (1015 to 1017 A.D.)

Dharmaratha died issueless and was succeeded by his younger brother Nahusa who came to the throne of Kośaḷa in 1015 A.D. So far not a single record of this ruler has been found and therefore nothing is known about him except some references in the records of his successors. The Narasiṁhapur charter praises him as 'the overlord of the country and the celebrate ornament of the earth, was as mighty as the lord of the animate beings...'[19]

Indraratha (1017 to 1023 A.D.)

Indraratha, was another brother of Dharmaratha and Nahusa, whose name is not mentioned in any of the Somavaṁśī records. It is known from his Bāṇapur Copper plate[20] issued in his 6th regnal year that he being the favourite of Dharmaratha was appointed the Governor of Kaḷinga which he himself had wrested from a Oḍra king. Thus Kaḷinga for the first time came under the Somavaṁśīs during Indraratha's time. Verse 13 of Indraratha's plate reveals that when Dharmaratha died, Śrī Vatsarājā who was probably a feudatory chief send his servants and oppressed the people repeatedly and Indraratha having heard this came from Kaḷinga and killed Vatsarājā and many other officers in the battle field and with the approval of the learned *Brāhmaṇas* became the ruler of Kosaḷa. Indraratha was a very inefficient king of the dynasty. During his time Rājēndra Choḷa[21] invaded

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yuvati ni (h) svasa-jhan (jh)-anila vyasanga-s (v) anad-anta-arala-mukha-rair-ggi (ggi) tam yasah ki (ki) cakach, (Verse 5, IHQ, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, pp. 99-108).

19. JBORS, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15.
20. JAS, Vol. VII (1966), p. 272.
21. SII, IH, No. 51, pp. 105-6. The Choḷa king Rājarājā's inscription dated in his 16th regnal year (A.D. 1001-2) includes for the first time Kaḷinga in the list of the conquered territories. Therefore most probably Indraratha had wrested the country of Kaḷinga from the Choḷa king Rājarājā had as a result of which later on to take its revenge Rājēndra Choḷa invaded the kingdom of Indraratha and defeated him at Ādinagara in 1023 A.D.

his kingdom and defeated him at *Ādinagara* in 1023 A.D.[22] His reign was uneventful and he ruled for a very short period, i.e. from 1017 to 1023 A.D.[23]

Chanḍīhara Yayāti II (1023 to 1060 A.D.)

The defeat of Īndraratha by Rājēndra Choḷa at Yayātinagara gave rise to anarchy and confusion in the Somavaṁśī kingdom. The Brahmēśwara inscription and the Narasiṁhapur charter also reveal this state of affairs in the kingdom. According to the former inscription after the death of Rājamalla or Dharmaratha without any issue his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries and there was a lapse of short and eventless time. Then Chanḍīhara, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vichitravīra a lineal descendant of the celebrated Janmējaya was made king by the Ministers. The condition of Utkaḷa was also then deplorable at that time. Dharma Mahādēvī was the last ruler of the Bhaumakara dynasty and after her the throne of Utkaḷa fell vacant and anarchy and disorder prevailed in the country for sometime. Then the Ministers and Warriors of that country nominated Yayāti II to rule over Utkaḷa, who was then at Kośaḷa. After this both the kingdoms of Utkaḷa and Kośaḷa were amalgamated and brought under the direct rule of the Somavaṁśī kings. This is revealed from the Mārānjamurā charter as well as the Narasiṁhapur charter that he was elected as the king of the two countries of Kośaḷa and Utkaḷa and he effectively repulsed the enemies.

Chanḍīhara Yayāti II issued his Jatēsingā and Dūngri plates[24] in his 3rd regnal year. In this charter he is praised as exceedingly mighty in his victorious campaigns whose 'footstool is kissed by the great jewels of the headgears of all the Narapatis or the subordinate kings, who in character resembled such renowned kings as *Naḷa, Nahusa, Mandhata, Dilipa, Bharata* and *Bhāgiratha.*'

The record also eulogises him as one, 'who has conquered Karnāta, Lāta, Gujrāt, who is the conqueror of the Drāviḍa country, who is the paramount of the world, who had denuded the Kānchi country of its glory, who has raised victorious assaults against the noted countries of Gauḍa and Raḍha, who is the full moon in the sky of Vanga and who has become the lord of *Trīkaḷinga* by having conquered it

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22. Tirumalai Inscription, Sewell—*The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India,* pp. 64-65. Moreover the Udaipur Prasasti of the Paramara king Bhoja informs us that he had defeated one Īndraratha, who is generally identified with the Somavaṁśī king.
23. EI., Vol. I, p. 235.
24. JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 52-53.

with his own arms and that he is the *Mahārājādhirājā* and overlord at whose feet *rājanyas* worship by bowing themselves down.'

Strangely enough Dahaḷa, the kingdom of the Chēdis does not appear in the list of the enemy territories, mentioned in the Jatēsingā Dūngri plates for which Dr. Panigrahi[25] considers that Yayāti II made an alliance with the Dahaḷa king Gāngāyodēva of Tripurī. However simply because the name of Dahaḷa was not mentioned we must not presume that he had made friendly relations with the Chēdis, the traditional and the greatest enemies of the Somavaṁśī kings.

Regarding his victories over other countries like Karnāta, Lāta, Gurjāra, Kānchi, Gauḍa, Raḍha etc. scholars like H. C. Ray, R. D. Banerjee[26] etc. are of opinion that it was poetic exaggeration and imaginary. But their judgements are incorrect and based on fault ground as they have made the mistake of confusing Yayāti I with Yayāti II or in other words have taken Yayāti I and Yayāti II to be one and the same person. Krishnā III, the Rāshtrakuṭa king was most probably the contemporary of Yayāti I.[27] It seems that there existed some friendly alliance between them for which reason they fought either independently or jointly against the aforesaid countries. Because in the inscriptions of Krishnā III he is also credited with the victory over the same countries and he never claimed any victory over Utkaḷa or Kośaḷa although while proceeding from the South towards Gauḍa and Magadha, he crossed over these two territories.

Yayāti II Chanḍīhara was the greatest ruler of the dynasty who achieved great success during his long reign. He consolidated his power and the fame of the dynasty spread far and wide which had considerably decreased after Īndraratha. His empire was a vast one which extended from the Bay of Bengal in the East to Sambalpur in the west and from Danḍakābhukti in the North to Ganjām in the South.

Udyotakēśarī Mahābhavagupta II (1060 to 1085 A.D.)

Chanḍīhara Yayāti II was succeeded by his son Udyotakēśarī in 1060 A.D. Like his father he was also a great conqueror and a powerful ruler. He conquered Dahaḷa and Gauḍa.[28]

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25. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 36.
26. Banerjee, R. D., op.cit., p.
27. Rajaguru, S. N., op.cit., pp. 389.
28. The Brahmēśvara inscriptions credits him with the victory over the countries of Dahaḷa, Oḍra and Gauḍa. As Oḍra was already under the Somavaṁśīs, it seems that some feudatory chiefs of the king having revolted against them was defeated by Udyotakēśarī.

According to Dr. Panigrahi[28a] his Kaḷachuri contemporary of Dahaḷa was Karṇa, who first invaded the Soma kingdom, but could not do any harm. Later taking advantage of the weak rule of the Kaḷachuris during the last years of Karṇa, Udyotakēśarī invaded their kingdom and got victory over that.

The enemity of the Soma kings with the Pāḷas of Gauḍa still continued and during Udyotakēśarī's time the Pāḷa king Vigrahapāḷa II, perhaps came into clash with the Somavaṁśī kings and finally was defeated.

The various expeditions of Yayāti II might have annoyed the enemy countries with whom he fought. That is why after his death those countries fought against his son Udyotakēśarī. As a result Udyotakēśarī had to face encounters from these kings. Enemies from all quarters attacked his kingdom and he could not enjoy peace, more particularly towards the last part of his reign. To safeguard the country he divided the kingdom into two parts[29], the Kośaḷa part was left in the hands of Abhimanyu, who was perhaps his grandfather and he himself ruled over the Utkaḷa portion of his empire. The Somavaṁśī power reached its zenith during the time of Udyotakēśarī. His reign was glorious and peaceful which brought prosperity to the country.

Janmējaya II :

Janmējaya II[30] was the son and successor of Udyotakēśarī. He was extremely weak. During his time the Soma kingdom was in the process of disintegration. In Ratnagiri plates of Somavaṁśī king Karṇa, Janmējaya II has been compared with the Nāga king, who has been identified with the Nāga King Somēśvara I. Somēśvara I, the Nāga king also claims to have waged war against Oḍra.[31]

Puranjaya I :

Janmējaya was succeeded by his son Puranjaya I. Nothing is known about this king, though in the Ratnagiri plates[32] he is praised in very high sounding words.

28a. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 37.
29. Sonepur plates of Kumāra Someswar, EI, Vol. XII, pp. 237-42.
30. EI, Vol. XXXIII, p. 205.
31. HCIP, Vol. V, pp. 216-218.
32. Ibid., pp. 263-74. We do not know how far this claim is true because the contemporary rulers of Gauḍa and Kaḷinga were very powerful kings like Rāmapāḷa and Anantavarman Choḍagangadēva.

Karṇadēva :

Puranjaya was succeeded by his brother Karṇadēva. Karṇadēva is praised in his records[33] 'as brilliant as the Sun, made less luminous the moon like the fame of his foes, while the jewels shining over the crowns of (his) subordinate kings kissed his feet···whose glory sweeped being supported by his powerful arms turned to be an object of picture in all the three worlds.'

However he was not a very powerful king and his reign saw the final downfall of the dynasty. As has already been mentioned in the 2nd chapter, the Ganga king Choḍagangādēva and the Pāḷa king Rāmapāḷadēva were his contemporaries. From the reference in the '*Rāmacharita*'[34] and the Korṇi plates[35] of Choḍagangadēva. Dr. Panigrahi[36] infers that while the Pāḷa king ousted Karṇa from his throne, the Ganga king helped him to establish his position in tact. The inference is not correct, because Jayasiṁha, a lieutenant of Rāmapāḷa once fought with Karṇa and defeated him. On receipt of this information Rāmapāḷa, the Vanga king did favour to the vanquished Lord of Utkaḷa and thereby helped him in continuing his power. This help resulted in a friendly alliance with Rāmapāḷa. Therefore so long his friendly relation continued with Rāmapāḷa, the Gangas did not dare to invade the Somavaṁśī kingdom. This shows it was not the Ganga king, but Rāmapāḷa who in fact helped Karṇa to consolidate his power against incursions from the Gangas.

Causes of the down fall of the Somavaṁśī kings :

Several factors were responsible for the down fall of the Somavaṁśīs. The disintegration of the empire started more or less from the time of Janmējaya II, the son and successor of Udyotakēśarī. It reached its worst stage during the time of his successors Puranjaya and Karṇadēva. It was further hastened with the rise of foreign powers like the Gangas and the Tēlugu Choḍas in the neighbourhood.

The Somavaṁśī kingdom had reached the zenith of its power during the reign of the early rulers of the dynasty because they were all great warriors and for the expansion of the kingdom they had adopted the policy of blood and iron. Also in the field of administration they displayed firmness and of tact. During the time of Yayāti II Chanḍīhara, the Somavaṁśī kingdom had extended to a large extent comprising the countries of Kośaḷa, Utkaḷa, Kongoda and Kaḷinga. Though his successor Udyotakēśarī did not add any new territories to his father's kingdom,

33. Ibid., pp. 263-74.
34. *Rāmacharita*, edited by H. P. Sastri, p. 36.
35. JAHRS, Vol. I, Part II, p. 123.
36. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 39.

he however could at least maintain it. But his weak successors gradually lost this kingdom to their enemies. Though Puranjaya is praised in the Ratnagiri plates[37] that even the kings of Gauḍa, Dahaḷa and Kaḷinga, Vanga were afraid of his powers, it seems to be a vague claim and the process of disintegration started from his time. In the medieval period, the continuation of a kingdom depended more upon the strength and ability of a monarch than anything else specially at that time when the neighbouring countries were formidable. But unfortunately both these kings lacked this quality.

Under Yayāti II the kingdom of Utkaḷa and Kośaḷa were united under one sceptre and thereby it gave a strong resistance to the rival powers. Thus the kings maintained the independence of their kingdom till the time of Udyotakēśarī. From the Sonepur plates[38] of Kumāra Somēśvaradēva we know that the united kingdom of the Somavaṁśī kings was divided into two parts namely Utkaḷa and Kośaḷa during the time of Udyotakēśarī. He had appointed Abhimanyu probably his grandfather to rule over Kośaḷa and he himself ruled over Utkaḷa. This division of the kingdom also divided the power of the rulers. Thereby taking advantage of this divided and weak power of the ruler, the Tēlugu-Choḍa ruling family established itself in the Kośaḷa division (Sambalpur-Sonepur reign) with Sonepur as its capital in the later half of the eleventh century A.D.[39] Thus the Somavaṁśī king Kumāra Somēśvaradēva the successor of Abhimanyu in Kośaḷa was ousted by the Tēlugu Choḍa king Somēśvara II. The successor of Udyotakēśarī, Janmējaya II thus lost the Kośaḷa portion of his vast empire through Kumāra Somēśvaradēva.

Danḍakābhukti (The Mēdnapore region) which formed a part of the Soma kingdom was also lost during the reign of either Janmējaya II or Puranjaya. As we know from the *Rāmacharita* that during the reign of Karṇadēva, the last known king of this dynasty, Danḍakābhukti was already under Jayasiṁha, the lieutenant of Rāmapāḷa.[40] So when Karṇadēva ascended the throne, his territory most probably was confined only to the Utkaḷa portion, a small area comprising the modern district of Cuttack, Ganjām, Purī, Bālāsore. Added to this he could not resist against the strong aggrandisement of the powerful Ganga king Ananta Varman Choḍagangadēva, who tried to expand his kingdom at the expense of the Somavaṁśīs and finally he lost his kingdom to the imperial Gangas. These may be attributed as

37. EI, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263-74.
38. EI, Vol. XII, pp. 237-42.
39. HCIP, Vol. V, p. 219.
40. Panigrahi, K. C., '*Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa*, p. 38.

the political causes for the downfall of the dynasty. However there were many other causes also which along with the political causes very rapidly brought about their downfall. It becomes quite evident from the inscriptional sources that during the reign of the later rulers after Udyotakēśarī there was no peace and order in the Kingdom. No progress was made at all in the cultural field. Taking advantage of the inefficiency and inability of Karṇadēva, the officers under him also revolted against him. It is stated in the *Mādaḷāpānji* that Vāhinipati Ratho, the Commander-in-Chief of the Soma army invited Choḍagangadēva to invade Utkaḷa at a proper time which best suited his purpose.[41]

Another factor is the assignment of vast areas of land to *Brāhmins*, officers, etc. alongwith so many rights and privileges. The surrender of these financial and administrative rights to the officers and *Brahmins* made them very powerful and on the otherhand it gave a serious blow to the power of the king. The pride and power of the tributary rulers and the *raṇakās* had increased during this period to such an extent that they themselves also granted lands[42] and were entitled to various titles and privileges. But more important than this was that once these land grants were made, they often were found to have developed a sense of insubordination and recalcitrancy in the minds of the feudatory chiefs particularly which made sometimes the situation uncontrolable for a weak ruler.

41. *Mādaḷāpānji* (Prachi edition), p. 22.
42. EI, Vol. IV, pp. 254-9.

Chapter Five

ADMINISTRATION

The long rule of the Somavaṁśī kings established for the first time a stable government in Orissa. The administrative system, assumed a definite form during this period and influenced in the later period the administrative machinery of the Gangas who succeed them.

Monarchy :

Monarchy was the most common form of Government during this period in Orissa. Supreme power and authority rested with the king. Kingship was hereditary. The sucessors were found 'meditating on the feet of their predecessors'. Usually the king was succeeded by his eldest living son.

Generally we do not come across the election of a king in Orissa during the medieval period. But during the time of the Somavaṁśī kings we see that the ministers and warrior chiefs of the countries of Kaḷinga, Utkaḷa and Kongoda had chosen Yayāti II as their ruler.[1] From this it appears that sometimes the voice of the ministers of the kingdom proved a determining factor in the selection of a king. If the king was a minor, generally one of his relatives acted as his regent. Thus when Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta ascended the throne at a very young age, his mother acted as his regent.[2]

Śukrānti[3], Nītivākyāmrita[4] and other works on polity lay down certain qualifications of a king : 'That a king should study the art of Government, cultivate righteousness, protect the subjects. He should be kind hearted and should not oppress his subjects. He should possess discipline, prowess, strength, valour and intelligence. Many of the Somavaṁśī kings possessed these qualities. In the Maller plates,[5] Bālārjuna is praised for the study of royal lores, patronage to accomplished persons, valour, intelligence and majesty. He is described as a '*Dharmāvatāra*'.[6]

1. JBORS, Vol. II, (1916), pp. 45-55.
2. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 184-201.
3. *Śukrānti*, Vol. I, pp. 86-87.
4. *Nītivākyāmrita*, p. 62.
5. EI, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.
6. Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 184.

Janmējaya is also called *'Dharmakandarpa'*[7] whose prowess, valour, determination charity, mercy are found mentioned in the records of his son Yayāti I.[8] Bhīmaratha is also described as a *Mahārathī* and is known for his modesty, steadiness, depth of knowledge and wisdom.[9] Dharmaratha is called a second *Paraśurām* and *Rājamālla* due to his valour. So also Yayāti II is compared with renowned kings like *Naḷa, Nahusa, Mandhata, Dilipa* and is described as *Atiśayajittā*[10] (exceedingly mighty).

The princes were provided with suitable tutors who taught them the royal lores. Besides receiving education in theoretical subjects they were also given training in military sciences such as in archery, horsemanship, elephant riding and other military tactices. Bālārjuna is stated to have been fond of war and foremost in the knowledge of using the bows.[11] The princes were entrusted with the administration of some areas and management of military campaigns for receiving training in practical statecraft. Kumāra Somēśvara[12] and Dharmaratha[13] served as Governors of Kośaḷa during the reign of their fathers. So also Indraratha[14] served as Governor of the Kaḷinga region during the reign of his brother Dharmaratha.

Powers and Duties of the King :

The king was all powerful in the State. He was the Central figure and exercised unlimited powers. He was expected to look after everything related to the welfare of the State and everything needed his sanction. His duties and responsibilities were varied and manifold.

The king appointed his ministers and other important officers for the State. He had the right of conferring titles and other distinctions. *Raṇakā Punjā* was honoured with the title *Panchamahāśabda*[15] by Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha.[16] Janmējaya conferred the title of *Raṇakā* to his *Sandhivigrahi* Mālla Daṭṭa in his 8th regnal year.[17] In all cases the king's consent was required for the grant of villages.

7. IHQ, Vol. XX, p. 245.
8. OHRJ, Vol. XII, pp. 3-4.
9. JRASB, letters, Vol. XIII, 1947, pp. 63-74.
10. JBORS, Vol. XXII (1916), pp. 45-55.
11. IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 179-81.
12. EI, Vol. XII, pp. 237-42.
13. Nuapatna plates, not yet published. Preserved in the OSM, Bhubaneswar.
14. JAS, Vol. VIII, pp. 271-76.
15. Right for the use of five musical instruments.
16. EI, Vol. IV, pp. 254-9.
17. Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 138-43.

The king was the leader of the army. He was assisted by his *Sandhivigrahi*, or minister of war and peace and other high military officers of the State. The final decision regarding war and peace must have rested with him only. He not only led the army but also he himself took a leading part in many battles, fought either for supremacy or for the preservation of the empire. We know it that king Janmējaya fought with the king of Oḍra and killed him in the battle.

It seems from the royal titles which the kings assumed like *Mahārājādhīrājā Paramabhaṭṭāraka* etc. that the Somavaṁśī kings were very powerful rulers under whom there were many petty kings and feudatory chiefs. The kings exercised extraordinary powers in all spheres of administration.

The kings were required to attend to manifold duties. Though the kings were vested with unlimited powers, they were not autocrats and always looked after the happiness and welfare of the people. Following the precepts of the *Dharma-śāstras* they were always conscious of their duties and responsibilities for their subjects and the kingdom.

For the promotion of trade and commerce the kings gave liberal grants to the *Vaisya* community. It is stated in the Sonepur plates[18] of *Mahābhavaguptā* Janmējaya that he granted some villages free of taxes to the *Kamaḷāvana* merchant's association who had imigrated from Khadirapadra in Sūvarṇapura. It becomes clear from this that merchants were encouraged by giving land grants to come and settle in their kingdom for the promotion of trade and commerce.

To encourage education and learning also they have granted lands to the learned *Brāhmaṇas* who were to impart education to the people. Janmējaya donated four villages by 3 charters to Sādhāraṇa, who was a great scholar[19] and was his chief minister.

For the growth and spread of religion they founded a number of temples and endowed them with large number of land donations. They performed several *Vēdic* rites and *aśwamēdha* sacrifices etc.[20]

For the general happiness of the people they constructed many bridges, tanks, wells etc. Yayāti II[21] had caused many men to build many temples, pavilions,

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18. EI, Vol. XXIII, pp. 248-55.
19. Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 138-43.
20. EI, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31-6.
21. JBORS, Vol. II (1916), pp. 45-55.

gardens etc. The copper plates of the period[22] refer to the establishment and maintenance of almhouses or free feeding houses by the kings. The kings maintained the *Varṇāśramadharma*. Queen Vasatā has been called the shelter of the four *Varṇas* and four *Āśramas*. One of the important duties of the king was the protection of the subjects. Absence of any internal upheaval and any external danger during the long rule of the Somavaṁśī kings is a clear testimony of the earnest endeavour of the monarchs to maintain the territorial integrity of the kingdom and give protection to the subjects.

Ministers and important officers :

King-in-ministry was the normal form of the government in the empire. Ministry being the most important wheel of administration since earliest times, the Somavaṁśī administration was no exception to the general rule. The king was assisted by a group of ministers, who were generally very efficient and influential members of the State. Though ministry was hereditary during this period, such principle was not always followed very strictly. It is already stated as to how the Dattas[23] served the Somavaṁśī kings in succession. But in some cases where the minister's successor was not found suitable for the post some other persons having the requisite qualifications were taken as ministers.[24]

As regards the qualification of a minister, he was required to possess certain qualities. Sādhāraṇa, the Chief Minister of Janmējaya[25] was learned and proficient in *Vēdic* lore and different branches of studies. Military ability may also have been counted for the qualification of a minister.

However we have very little information regarding the actual strength of the ministry and the various portfolios of its members. It is not clear from their inscriptions whether the Somavaṁśīs had a central council of Ministers or a *Mantrī Parishad*. Regarding the strength of the ministers, different opinions were given by the *Smritis* and the *Arthaśāstras*. *Smriti* works show that there were no hard and fast rules about the strength of the ministry. The number of ministers according to Manu should have seven or eight.[26] It is known from inscriptional sources that the number of the Ganga ministry[27] was sixteen. Kauṭilya says that the strength of

22. EI, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31-6.
23. See Chapter II.
24. JASB, Vol. VII, June 1837, pp. 557-62.
25. OHRJ, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 192-7.
26. *Manu Smriti*, Vol. VII, V, p. 54.
27. OHRJ, Vol. V, p. 31.

the ministry should vary with the need of the situation. It seems that the kings of our period might have followed the principles laid down in the *Arthasāstra*.

From the study of the inscription it seems that there was a post of Chief Minister. Sādhāraṇa was the *Mantrītilaka* which meant the Chief Minister of Janmējaya Mahābhavagupta I.[28] He was an able minister who shared to a considerable amount of the heavy burden of administration of his master.

Besides the *Mantrītilaka* there was another minister named ås *Mahāsandhivigrahika* or the great minister for war and peace. The title *Mahāsandhivigrahika* or the Chief foreign minister indicates that there were also some ordinary *Sandhivigrahikas* under him. Dharā Daṭṭa was the *Mahāsandhivigrahika* under Janmējaya.[29] The *Sandhivigrahika* also played a very important role in respect of the preparation of the copper plate charters. He supervised the charter written by the *Kāyastha*[30] attached to his office and sometimes by the *Mahākshapāṭālika* prepared charters but only with his permission[31] and in a few records he himself is mentioned as the writer.[32] Thus the grants were actually prepared with his permission or under his supervision or by himself. It is known from the Pātna Museum Plates[33] of Yayāti I that his *Sandhivigrahi* Singha Daṭṭa bore with perfect ease the heavy burden of the State affairs imposed by the king and who had both policy and prowess as his constant and dear friends.

However no definite reference is made in the records regarding some other important members of the ministry like *Mahāsēnāpati* or the Commander-in-Chief of the army and *Pūrohit* who exercised general superintendence over religion and morality.[34]

Though we do not have any direct reference to the minister of Justice in our period, we have some vague references to it. It is stated in the Orissa State Museum Plates[35] of Yayāti I that the ministers attained popularity among the citizens by the award of justice based on sound principles of *Dharmaśāstra* and

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28. EI, Vol. III, p. 349.
29. IHQ, Vol. XX, p. 250.
30. Vakrātēntali and Kālibhana plates of Janmējaya. Vakrātēntali Grant, EI, Vol. XI, Kālibhana Copper Plate, IHQ, Vol. XX.
31. Nibinnā plates of Yayāti I, EI, Vol. XI.
32. Mahākośaḷa Historical Society Plates of Mahābhavagupta II, EI, Vol. IV.
33. JASB, Vol. I (1905), pp. 8-12.
34. SII, Vol. VI, pp. 958-960 and IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 169.
35. OHRJ, Vol. XII.

Arthaśāstra. It appears that *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* were designations of the officers of the judicial department.[36]

Whereas some ministers were *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kāyasthas*[37] some others belonged to the feudal chiefs or other castes. The Chief Minister Sādhāraṇa was a *Brāhmaṇa* and Mālla Daṭṭa a *Kāyastha*. The *Sandhivigrahi* of Janmējaya, Dharā Daṭṭa was a *Sāmanta*,[38] and Chāru Daṭṭa, the minister of Mahāśivagupta was a *raṇakā*.[39]

The inscriptions of our period give us a list of important royal officers whose powers and functions has not been clearly mentioned. However with the help of the *Arthaśastra* and some other records of the period, to some extent we are able to explain the nature of their powers and functions.

An important officer known as *Samāhārtrī* figures very prominently in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions. The *Samāhārtrī* is designated as the Collector General of the revenue by Kauṭilya.[40] It seems his duties comprised of the general superivision and collection of revenue as well as its expenditure. In the *Arthaśāstra* the police officers and the spies were also under his jurisdiction. The *Samāhārtrī* was an important officer under the rulers of this dynasty which is indicated by the first position given to him in the official records.

Next to the *Samāhārtrī* figures the *Sannidhātri*. The second position he occupies in the official list shows his importance in the State. He acted as an assistant to the *Samahartri* or the collector of dues and probably he acted as the treasurer. According to Kauṭilya he received all dues and kept accounts not only of cash payments but also of the payments of commodities. He was incharge of building, store houses, granaries, prison houses etc.[41]

Besides these two officers, the others which are mentioned in the charter of this period are the *Dūtaka, Niyūktaka, Adhikārika, Daṇḍapāsik, Pisūna-Vērtrika, Mahākāshapātāla, Mahākshapātāladhvaksha, Chāṭṭas* and *Bhāṭṭas, Rājavallabha, Rajapuṭra, Bhogijana, Avarodhajana, Raṇakā*.

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36. JIH, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 374.
37. EI, Vol. XXIX, Part VI, p. 189.
38. IHQ, Vol. XX, p. 250.
39. EI, Vol. XI, p. 96. *Raṇakās* served as military vassals under the Somavaṁśī kings.
40. Choudhury, R. K., *Kauṭilya's Political Ideas and Institutions*, p. 102.
41. Choudhury, R. K., op.cit., p. 102.

Dūtaka was an officer who executed the charters; his duty was to convey the orders of the king to the local officers to whom the charter was delivered. It is interesting to note that in the *Kāmandaka Nītiśāra*[42] *Dūtakas* are regarded as spies. They were called the 'eyes of the king'.

In the land grants the officers like *Nīyūktaka* and *Adhīkārika* are placed in the third and fourth position respectively and we do not find them in any other contemporary records. Nothing is known about the duties and functions of these two officers. D. C. Sircar has defined *Niyūktaka* as the Governor of a territorial unit such as 'the *Ayūktaka* and *Adhīkārika* was a superintendent.[43] Because we do not find the mention of any territorial unit like *Ayūktaka* in the records of our period, we cannot take *Niyūktaka* as the Governor of an *Ayūktaka*. The meaning *Niyūktaka* literally meant a person who appoints others. Therefore it seems proper to say that *Niyūktaka* was the officer incharge of the employment department.

Daṇḍapāśik was perhaps the village constable, who seems to have been incharge of *Daṇḍa* or punishment. He is said to be one who holds the felters or noose of punishment i.e. the policeman.[44] In the *Arthaśāstra* also the law relating to the suppression of crimes is called *Daṇḍapāsa*. Therefore it seems that the function of this official was to punish the criminals and maintain law and order in the villages.

The *Piśūna-Vētrika* was another member. Literally *Piśūna-Vētrika* means the cruel cane-holder and so B. Misra[45] defines it as a cruel cane-holder or constable, whereas Dr. Sircar[46] explains *Piśūna* as the vigilance officer and *Vētrika* as Watchman or the constable. Most probably his function was the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order in the villages with his *vētra* or cane.

The *Mahākshapātāla* managed the department of the official records of the State. A slight difference in the name i.e. known as *Mahākshapātāladhikrita*[47] was an officer under the Bhaumakaras who supervised work in gold and silver and his subordinate was *Mahākshapātālika*.[48]

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42. *Kāmandakiya, Nītiśāra*, Vol. XII, pp. 26-27.
43. IHQ, Vol. XX, p. 246.
44. Mornier-William's *'Sanskrit Dictionary'*.
45. JBORS, Vol. XVII, p. 17.
46. IHQ, Vol. XX, p. 239.
47. Misra, B., op.cit., p. 198.
48. Ibid.

Another important officer of the Empire was the *Mahākshapāṭāladhyaksha.* In the *Arthaśāstra*[49] he is defined as the Accountant General whose function was to submit the accounts of different departments to the *Samāhārtrī.* Therefore we may assume that the *Mahākshapāṭāladhyaksha* of the Somavaṁśī period was the Chief Accountant General who was assisted in his work by some ordinary *Akshapāṭāladhayakshas.*

The *Chāṭṭas* and *Bhāṭṭas* are very frequently mentioned in the charters. They are generally regarded as soldiers.[50] However it seems that they were the irregular and regular troops respectively.[51] They maintained peace and order in the country as well as participated as soldiers in the wars. But they were forbidden to enter into the *agrahāra* villages probably because of their hard and exacting nature.

Some of the officer's nature of function cannot be determined. The *rājavallabha, rājaputra, bhogijana* are regarded as the favourites of the king, younger son of the king and village headman respectively.[52] The term *avarodhajana*[53] is not found in any other inscriptions and it is difficult to explain.

Raṇakās possibly served as military vassals under the Somavaṁśī kings. They were a class of land holders who were granted villages by the kings. Some *Brāhmaṇas* served as *raṇakās.* Mahābhavagupta II, Bhīmaratha had granted a village to a *Brāhmaṇa raṇakā.*[54] Some *raṇakās* were granted more than one village either as a fief or for governing them. They held a high position among the feudatories of the Soma kings.[55] Some of the important *raṇakās* were entitled to the use of five musical instruments or *Panchamahāśabda.*[56] The title '*raṇakā*' was also conferred upon the *Sandhivigrahis* for their success in battles and wars.[57] The *raṇakās* enjoyed an important position and sometimes were empowered to grant villages to donees and bore titles like *Mahāmanḍaḷēsvara, Mahāmanḍaḷikā* etc.[58]

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49. *Arthaśāstra,* p. 142.
50. JIH, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 374.
51. EI, Vol. XXIV, p. 133.
52. IO, Vol. IV, p. 233.
53. According to Sricar, *Avarodhajana* indicated the ladies of the harem, probably of higher officials and feudatories. IHQ, Vol. XX, p. 239. Any way they can not be taken as regular officials.
54. EI, Vol. III, pp. 28-42.
55. Ibid.
56. OHRJ, Vol. I, p. 292.
57. EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-143.
58. JOH, Vol. I, 1980, No. 1.

For the purpose of civil administration the wide empire of the Somavaṁśī kings was divided into several smaller administrative units. The land grants of the period refer to several lower administrative units like *maṇḍala*, *vishaya*, *khaṇḍa*, *bhukti* *bhoga*, *pāṭaka*, *grāma* etc.

Under the Somavaṁśī kings *maṇḍala* was the largest territorial division corresponding to a province. Next to *maṇḍala* was *vishaya* which corresponded to a modern district. Under their contemporary rulers, the Rāshtrakūṭas, *Rāshtra* was the largest administrative unit and *vishaya* was its subdivision.[59] Thus the term *maṇḍala* used at this time denote the territorial unit corresponding to the *rāshtra*, consisting of about 5 or 6 districts. However the number of *maṇḍalas* included in the empire is not known but to judge from the extent of the empire, it could not have been less than 20 or so. Some of the *maṇḍalas* and *vishayas* under the Somavaṁśī kings are *Gāndhātapati maṇḍala*[60], *Śrāvasti maṇḍala*[61], *Sambarabādi maṇḍala*[62] and *Antarudra vishaya*[63], *Nimunā vishaya*[64] etc.

The next territorial division was the *bhukti*. In the contemporary period it was a division which consisted of 100 to 500 villages and hamlets.[65] Thus in our period also it must have included several villages. In the records we come across the names of several *bhuktis* like *Prithūrābhukti*[66] etc. The terms *Bhoga*, *khaṇḍa* and *grāma* were perhaps smaller units which corresponded to a modern taluk or tahsil and a village respectively. The charters refer to several *khaṇḍas* like *Abhāparā-khaṇḍa*, *Dēvī bhoga* and a number of *grāmas*.

Besides these there were *nagaras* or cities and *pūras* or towns. The suffix *pāṭaka* indicates a city or a bigger town than that a *nagarī* or *pūra*. We have some reference to *nagaras* like *Yayātinagara* and *pūras* like *Suvarṇapūra*, *Vinitāpūra*, *Solānapūra* and also to *dēsas* or countries like *Kosaḷadēsa*, *Oḍradēsa*, *Madhyadēsa* etc.

Military :

The military administration under the Somavaṁśī kings appears to have been strong and efficient. From the inscriptions it appears that the kings had maintained

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59. Altekar, A. S. '*Rāshtrakūṭas and their times*', p. 136.
60. Nibinā Charter of Yayāti I, EI, Vol. XI, pp. 95-98.
61. JASB, Vol. I (1905), p. 78.
62. JBORS, Vol. II (1916), pp. 45-55.
63. OHRJ, Vol. XII, p. 5.
64. Ibid., Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 192-7.
65. Altekar, A. S., op.cit., p. 137.
66. Mahākośaḷa Historical Society Plates, p. 212.

an efficient army and devoted special attention to the task of developing the strength of the army which largely accounted for the success of their imperial expansion.

The Somavaṁśī kings themselves were great warriors and were the head of the army. They were assisted as we have already stated by the *Mahāsandhivigrahis*[67] and a group of *Sandhivigrahikas*. There might have been many other military officers. But we do not come across their names in our records. Except the *raṇakās*, we do not even find the mention of *Mahāsēnāpati*[68] or the Chief of the army of the Ganga period in our period. It is just possible that the Somavaṁśī kings themselves were their own *sēnāpatis*. Some of the ministers themselves were army officers.[69]

Most probably there was no division of the civil and the military jurisdiction. Because the *Sandhivigrahikas* also played an important role in respect of the preparation of copper plate charters. They were expected to have the heavy burden of the State affairs.[70]

There was a good standing army drawing regular pay yet there were some hired soldiers, who were appointed sometimes to meet the special need of the time. This is clear from the mention of *Chaṭṭas* and *Bhaṭṭas*[71] in the records, which meant regular and irregular troops. The irregular troops constituted the local militia. Thus the *Chaṭṭas* and *Bhaṭṭas* performed police duties during peace time and military duties in war time. The feudatories also besides ruling over their own principalities were expected to help the king along with their armies during war time.

The royal army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephantry.[72] We do not find the mention of charioteers in the Somavaṁśī period. It seems that, of the traditional four wings of the Indian army, the Somavaṁśī kings paid much importance to infantry, cavalry and elephantry.

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67. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95.
68. SII, Vol. VI, No. 958, 960, EI, Vol. IV, p. 316.
69. EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-43.
70. Mahākośaḷa Historical Plates, EI, Vol. IV, p. 212.
71. IHQ, Vol. XX, p. 245.
72. The ceiling courses of the *Jagamohana* of the Brahmēśwara temple are carved with processions of infantry, cavalry and elephants. The Rājputra of the records is regarded as the cavalry officer. EI, Vol. III, p. 218.

Thus the military department was a vital point of the king's administration. They devoted their energy and resources for the improvement and efficiency of the army. The army well organised accounted for the great success of Janmējaya, Yayāti, Bhīmaratha and other kings of the dynasty.

Economic condition :

The source materials for the study of the economic condition of the period are very fragmentary and scattered in character. However a very careful and painstaking study of all these will give us a broad idea about the subject.

The economic condition of the age seems to have been prosperous. Land was the most important source of income during this time. The individual enjoyed his land so long as he paid taxes to the king.[72a] A whole village or a part of it was found donated for the religious and charitable purposes. After such endowments, the villagers were required to pay their taxes to the donee instead of to the king. Such donations with such instructions could not have been made had the king not been regarded as the ultimate owner of the land. This idea is also advocated by the ancient law givers like Manu, Gautama etc.[73]

The king also owned mines and minerals and large tracts of both cultivable and uncultivable land. In some records[74] of the period we get reference to the right of the donee over marshy land, plain land, ditches and sterile soil. The Hindu law givers justified the king's right to the taxes in return for the protection he provided for his subjects but at the same time they point out that the king should neither be extortionate in collection of revenue nor be extravagant in his expenditure.

Most probably the king claimed one-sixth of the produce of the land. According to *Kātyāyana* the king is the lord of the land, but never of other kinds of wealth. Therefore he should secure one-sixth part of the fruits of land but not otherwise at all.[74a] His right in this respect was so widely accepted that we find in *Kāḷidāsa* that he was even entitled to one-sixth of the earning of the hermitages in return for the protection he gave them. Since the tax was one-sixth of the gross produce in all probability its amount was not absolutely fixed but varied with the rise and fall in production.

72a. Manusmriti, Vol. VIII, p. 39 ; Gautamasmriti, Vol. XI, p. 1.

73. Nivinā charter of Yayāti I.

74. EI, Vol. XI.

74a. *Kātyāyana Dharmaśāstra*, p. 16.

The land grants of our period refer to a number of land taxes such a *Bhoga-bhāgakara*[75], *Uparikara*[76] and a number of revenue terms such *as Hiraṇya*[77], *Nidhi-Upanidhi*[78] etc. The frequent reference to the term *Bhoga-bhāgakara* indicates that it was a regular land tax levied by the Government. We find in the records of the *Rāshtrakūṭas*, Chālukyas, Kalachuris, a slightly different term known as *Bhāga-bhoga kara*. These terms are interpreted in different ways by different scholars.[79] According to D. C. Sircar *Bhoga* was the periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers etc. which the villagers had to furnish to the king.[80] This custom was in vague even in Harsha's time and it continued till the time of the *Rāshtrakūṭas*.[81] Then he interprets *Bhāga* as the king's share of the produce which seems to be the correct meaning. Lastly *kara* indicates a tax in general. It forms a part of the term Sarvakara[82] (all taxes) used in the inscriptions of the Ganga period. The word *Bhoga-bhāga kara* may indicate three different taxes.

Some scholars[83] have explained the term *Uparikara* as an extra cell because the meaning of *Upari* in sanskrit is extra and *kara* is tax. Therefore it was an additional tax and might have included the miscellaneous taxes in kind which traders and artisans had to pay.[84]

Hiraṇya is generally held a tax in cash.[85] Sircar takes it to be the royal share of certain crops paid in cash.[86] But according to Beni Prasad[87] it symbolises the right of the state to gold and probably other mines as well. Though in its literal sense *hiraṇya* means a tax payable in gold coins but since the ordinary peasantry cannot afford to pay a tax in gold, it probably meant a tax in cash.

The term *nidhi-upanidhi* as defined by the ancient law givers meant buried treasures and deposits. This treasure trove or *nidhi* and deposits or *upanidhi* constituted another source of the royal income.

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75. EI, Vol. III, p. 348.
76. Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 141.
77. JBORS, Vol. II, p. 53.
78. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 141.
79. Fleet, CII, p. 254 ; Tripathy, R. S., *History of Kanauj*, p. 348.
80. JAS, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1952, p. 79.
81. IA, Vol. XI, p. 111.
82. IO, Vol. II, Part I, p. 25.
83. Sircar, D. C., *Select inscriptions*, IP 266.
84. Mirashi, CII, IV.
85. EI, Vol.VII, p.p and 160.
86. Selected Inscriptions, p.2.
87. Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 302.

The king's right extended over all the sources of the village with its boundaries together with the lands, the water, the tanks, various kinds of trees like mango, *Madhukā* (Bassia latifolia) *sisu* and *tala*, with mines and minerals.[88] The term *gārttosāra*[89] probably meant the ditches, drains and trenches and barren land in a village and *Jalasthala*[90] to either marshy land or plain land and water reservoir which probably included *Kūpa* (well), *Vāpī* (pond) and *Tādaga* (tank). The king's right extended over all these things of a village.

Some of the copper plates[91] of the period refer to some privileges of the king which are unknown in the grants of other dynastics of Orissa. These are *hastīdanḍa, ahīdanḍa, varabalivarḍa, bandhadanda, andhāruvā, ādatta vandāpanā, Vijay vandāpanā, marganikā,* together with the *nidhi-upanidhi* and *sa-pratihāra* or the tax for the maintenance of the gate keepers or the *pratihāras.*

Hastīdanḍa has been defined by Sircar[92] and D. Mitra[93] as a tax on the maintenance of the elephants. But B. Misra[94] thinks that it meant the right of killing elephants. The interpretation of Misra seems very impossible and the first meaning seems to be correct.

Again Sircar and Mitra are of the opinion that *Ahīdanḍa* meant a tax imposed on the snake charmers and according to B. Misra it meant the right of killing snakes.

Varabalivarda was a tax imposed for the possession of race bullocks.[95] *Padātijiva* was the tax for the maintenance of the paiks or infantry of the State.

Bandhadanḍa meant the power of conviction and punishment. The king might have been earning a lot by this power.

Andhāruva was probably a levy on the amount lent out by money lenders and *Pratyandhāruvā* on the amount of loan realised by the money lenders.[96]

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88. JBORS, Vol. XVII, Part I, pp. 17-18.
89. Ibid.
90. EI, Vol. XXXIII, Part VI, pp. 269-74.
91. Narasiṁhapur charter, Ratnagiri plates, Kelga plates.
92. Sircar, D. C., *Land Lordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as revealed by epigraphical records*, p. 78.
93. EI, Vol. XXXIII, Part VI, p. 267.
94. JBORS, Vol. XVII, Part I, pp. 17-18.
95. Sircar, D. C., op.cit., p. 78.
96. Ibid., p. 78.

Adatta was a levy on arrears of taxes or fines and *antarāvaḍi* is defined as pellet for the sick meaning a levy for the treatment of the king when he is sick. This meaning however seems very inconvenient.

The term *Vandāpanā* and *Vijayavandāpanā* denote tribute to the king paid after the king obtained victory[97] or the right of receiving present on the occasion of welcome.[98] In any case it seems that tribute was another source of royal income.

Mārgaṇika was another tax levied by the king on ceremonial occasions[99] and it is defined as a transit duty.[100]

Besides this we also find reference to some new fiscal rights in our period. Somēśvaradēva[101] granted some plots of land with the rights of enjoyment of tusks of elephants, the tiger skins and different wild animals as well as different trees such as a tamarind, and palmyra alongwith forests. Besides this it also mentions *go-gaudo somēto* (together with cows and milkmen and with taxes on posture land and milk-men), *so-khandapāliya* (together with the tax for the maintenance of swordmen) and other taxes like *Sūvarṇadanḍa* (profession tax on gold smiths), *tranḍaka* (tax for grazing and watering cattle), *sasan-ārdhika* (levy of an additional share of the produce from the tenants engaged in cultivating rent free lands).[102]

The annual rent paid by the granted villages to the king also was another source of income of the State. A copper plate[103] charter of Janmējaya Mahābhava-gupta I records a *kara-śāsana* or a revenue paying grant to a *Brāhmaṇa* which was fixed at five *pālas* of *rūpya*.[104]

When a village was donated, the right to receive the proceeds of fines imposed for the commission of ten offences or *daśaparādha* was also transferred to the donee together with all other revenues. According to Ghosal[104a] the term *daśaparādha*

97. EI, Vol. XXXII, Part VI, p. 267.
98. JBORS, Vol. XVII, Part I, pp. 17-18.
99. Ibid.
100. Sircar, D. C., op.cit., p. 78.
101. EI, Vol. XXVIII, Part VII, p. 327.
102. Sircar, D. C. op.cit., p. 79.
103. JASB (New series), Vol. I, p. 13.
104. *Rūpya* meant silver coins. The *Arthaśāstra* refers to silver *rūpakas* or coins as *rūpyarūpā* (*Arthaśāstra*, II, pp. 86-87).
104a. Ghosal, U. N., Contributions to the history of Hindu Revenue System, Calcutta, 1929.

refers to the donee's right to be exempted at least in part from the ordinary penalties for the commission of some traditional offences by the villagers. This view does not appear to be correct. However fines, paid by convicted persons was another source of income of the king.

The income of the king was spent in various ways. We do not have much knowledge regarding the items of State expenditure, but most probably they were spent by salary to the officials, donations to temples, *Brāhmaṇas* and ascetics and also for the maintenance of the army and other welfare works for the public. Hiuen Tsang[105] had stated that in the 7th century A.D. the income derived from the royal land was divided into four parts i.e. 'one part was for the expenses of State and Government worship, one for the endowment of great public servants, one to reward high intellectual eminence and one for the gifts to various sects.' This remained more or less the same practice in our period also.

From the copper plates of this period it is known that the State maintained a large number of officials.

In our period[106] it is known from epigraphic sources that the State officials were granted land for their service. Janmējaya Mahābhavagupta I granted four villages in Kosala by three land charters to his chief minister *Sādhāraṇa*.[107]

Various temples and monasteries were constructed which incurred a heavy expenditure. Vast lands were also granted for the worship of the temple. As a matter of fact the Somavaṁśis were great builders of temples, during whose time some of the biggest and greatest monuments like Lingarāj were constructed, which must have cost a lot of expenditure. The village of *Vaidyapadraka* was granted for the offering and worship of lord Īsānēśvara installed at *Pāttannā* Khadirapadratala with dance, music and *nivēdya* and for the repair and maintenance of that structure.[108] So also Queen *Vasata*[109] had granted a village for the worship of lord Hari after the construction of the temple.

105. Watters, Thomas, *On Yuan Chwan's travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 176.
106. Hiuen Tsāng describes that Harsha's officials had their appropriate share of land so that they could rely on it for their support. Watters, T., Ibid., pp. 176-77. Similarly the Bhaumakara officials also received land grants as their salaries.
107. EI, Vol. III, p. 345.
108. Ibid, Vol. XXVII, Part VII, pp. 323-24.
109. Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 184-202.

A vast amount of wealth was also spent in settling a large number of *Brāhmaṇas*, who came from different parts of the country. The kings very liberally granted, villages, to the *Brāhmaṇas* for acquiring religious merit as well as for the observance of various religious ceremonies and sacrifices. The *Brāhmaṇas*[110] attached to the temple worship were also separately given land grants for their maintenance.

Mahāśivagupta Yayāti donated the village of Chandgrāma in the Mārada *vishaya* to the *Brāhmaṇa* Śankhapāni.[111] Almost all the kings of the dynasty donated lands to the *Brāhmaṇas* mainly. Generally one village was granted with all sorts of privileges but some times more than one village was also given. During the time of Yayāti II[112] two villages namely Brihad Bhūsayi *grāma* and Māranjamurā were granted to the *Brāhmaṇa* Battaputra *sarodayi* Śrī Yaśokara.

Several other religious sects also received land grants for their maintenance.[113]

The Somavaṁśī kings had maintained a large army which mostly counted for their greatness. The army consisted of the elephant force, infantry and cavalry for the maintenance of which the State most probably exhausted a large amount of wealth.

The kings of this dynasty being very benevolent rulers exhausted the treasuries of their vast empire for the welfare of the public by building many roads, bridges, monasteries, *alm-houses*, gardens, monuments etc. Yayāti II[114] who was devoted to the works of merit or *Dharma* caused many men to build many temples for various Gods and the *manḍapas* in the *ārama* or the park, *vihāra* with the *udyanas* etc. Udyotakēśarī[115] also had restored the decayed tanks and ruined temples and excavated one well for the Jaina priests. The kings also established a number of *sattaras*[116] or free feeding houses for the upkeep of which some land were given.

In the Bhaumakara period we notice a tendency for the growth of feudalism in Orissa because the donees obtained the rights of collecting regular revenues

110. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 184-202.
111. Ibid., pp. 351-354.
112. JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 45-49.
113. EI, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.
114. JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 45-49.
115. EI, Vol. XIII, p. 163.
116. Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 197.

together with the additional revenues from persons like *tantavāyas*, *saundhikas*, *gokuṭas* as well as from places like *sakhēta*, *gulmaka ghāṭṭa* etc.[117] Thus the rulers abandoned the right of taxation to the donees, who behaved like semi feudal barons. That was the reason for which the number of feudatories in Orissa during the Bhaumakara period was far greater than in the neighbouring regions during the same period.[118] However we mark a deviation from this system in the Somavaṁśī period. The Soma kings also transferred the various rights to the donees but they reserved with them some privileges and in some cases the donees were asked to offer to the king the customary share of income, rent, gold etc.[119] and in some other cases the grant was made after fixing the yearly revenue as five silver coins.[120] The amount might have been varied in various *kara-sāsanas* (revenue paying grants). Thus it becomes clear from this that feudalism was there in our period also but it existed in a very restricted form.

An elaborate system of land measurement developed during this period. Great care was taken to maintain proper boundary marks and measures of a village. According to the *Arthaśāstra* the boundary of a village was to be marked by *tadaga*, river, mountain, *sālamali* tree etc.[121] This rule was followed by the kings of the Soma dynasty to some extent. The Sēnakpat inscription records the boundary of the *tala pāṭaka*, possibly a land attached to a temple for its maintenance at the time of its construction like this—to the north of it lay a pit and to its south the *Śivasamudra* probably a tank, and the eastern and western boundaries were formed by two roads.[122]

We do not have much idea regarding the unit of land measurement during this period except *hala*[123] which seems to have been a popular unit of measurement of land. This term was frequently used in the Ganga inscription[124] which meant most probably as much of land as could easily be cultivated with one plough in a day.

Currency :

Much is not known about the medium of exchange in this period. However

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117. JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 426-7.
118. Das, B., *Bhaumakaras of Orissa*, p. 192.
119. EI, Vol. XXIII, pp. 248-55.
120. JASB (NS), Vol. I, p. 13.
121. Sarmasastry, R., *Arthaśāstra*, p. 117.
122. EI, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31-6.
123. Ibid.
124. I.O., Vol. II, Part I, p. 15.

from the records it is known that silver coins were used by the people which was known as '*rūpya*'[125] during this period. This type of coinage was also used by the Śulki rulers[126] and the Tunga rulers.[127] The frequent mention of *hiraṇya*[128] which literally means 'gold' proves the prevalence of gold coins also. We do not come across references to copper coins in our period, but as copper was very widely used for the charters etc. there might have been the use of copper also. In the medieval period *cowrie* shell[129] constituted the most popular medium of exchange in Orissa, therefore we may presume that ordinary daily transactions were probably made by *cowries.*

Crafts and Industries :

Although agriculture was predominant in the economy of this period a great variety of crafts and industries were in a flourishing condition which however is known from the monuments and epigraphic records as well as the literary texts like *Manasollasā* and *Yuktikalpataru.*

A very popular and widely prevalent form of industry was the textile industry. The name of Kalinga figures in the *Manasollasā* while referring to a long list of royal garments.[130] The sculptural representations of the period show different items of dresses like dhotis, sādis, scarf, pāyajamā etc. We get references to weavers in several charters. Some sculptures on the temple of Lingarāj give the impression that fine brocaded fabrics were produced in Orissa during this time.[131]

There existed huge iron industries, as of all the metals iron was certainly the most useful one. We find a number of sculptural and inscriptional references to weapons and battle ornaments like battle axe, sword, dagger, shield etc. which were made of iron. Elaborate axes are seen in the hands of a statue of Ganēsha in the great tower.[132] A royal figure in the Brahmēśwara temple is seen holding a sword and a shield.[133] Daggers are found in a large number in the Lingarāj temple. Iron

125. JASB (NS), Vol. I, p. 13. The *Arthaśāstra* also refers to silver *rūpakas* as *rūpyarūpā* (*Arthaśāstra* II, pp. 86-87).
126. EI, Vol. XII, No. 20, p. 158.
127. JASB, (NS), Vol. XII, p. 294.
128. JBORS, Vol. II, p. 53.
129. Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki or Buddhist Records of the* Western World, Vol. II, p. 207.
130. *Manasollasā,* III, pp. 17-20.
131. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., p. 80.
132. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., Vol. I, p. 122.
133. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 118.

was also used for building temples and we know that iron beams were used for the first time in the temples during the Somavaṁśī period.[134]

Articles of different other metals like gold, silver, bronze, copper were also manufactured. Next to iron copper was possibly the most useful item of that time. The discovery of a large number of copper plates indicates the existance of copper industry. Though no statue or coins of copper or bronze have yet been discovered it seems that the utensils of the common people were made of either copper or bronze. The profuse use of ornaments by both men and women shows that the craft of jewellery flourished well in the country. As gold and silver coins[135] were current in Orissa during this period, we may presume that ornaments were made both of gold and silver. It is also known that some ornaments were made of pearls which even the dēvadāsis used.[136]

The great temples and stone images of the period testify to the existence of stone work industry in Orissa. The temple of Rājarānī was constructed of reddish granite sand stone locally known as Rājarānīā. Thus different types of stones were used for different temples.

Wood work industry also existed and there are evidences tc show that carpentry flourished during this period. Various figures of wooden furnitures like bed steads, stools, lamp stands are sculptured on the walls of the temples. A figure from the Muktēśvara temple exhibits a very simple form with a plain boarder and legs carved like lion's paws[137], and another figure from the Lingarāj exhibits the richest beadstead in the Orissan sculptures.[138] The door in the porch of the great temple of Lingarāj is made of sandle wood and is carved like the one of the famous gate of Somanāth.

Luxury articles were manufactured from ivory[139], and the right of the donees to the enjoyment of the tiger's skin obviously suggests the existence of some sort of tanning industry[140] in Orissa during this period.

Thus the various crafts and industries as existed in Orissa under the Somavaṁśī kings included textiles, metal work, stone work, wood work, ivory and tanning etc.

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134. Ibid.
135. JBORS, Vol. II, p. 53, JASB (NS), V. p. 13.
136. Brahmēśvara temple inscription, JASB letters, Vol. III, p. 72.
137. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., Wood cut No. 26.
138. Ibid. No. 30.
139. EI, Vol. XXVIII, Part VII, p. 327.
140. Ibid.

Chapter Six

SOCIAL CONDITION

Since very early times caste system has been the most striking feature of the Indian Social life, the earliest reference to it is mentioned in the famous *Purusha-sukta* occurring in the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛg-Vēda*.[1] This caste system continued to be the backbone of the society in our period. People were broadly divided into four groups—the *Brāhmaṇas* or the Priestly class, the *Kshatriyas* or the knightly order, the *Vaiśyas* or the husbandmen and traders, and the *Śudras* or the class that served the others. There is a reference in the *Śirpur* inscription that queen Vaśatā, like the *Vēdas* was the shelter to the people belonging to the four *Varṇas* (Castes).[2]

In the society the *Brāhmaṇas* occupied the highest position and were respected by all other classes and also enjoyed great honour in the society. They were the spiritual guides of the kings and crown princes. Great royal patronage was bestowed upon them in the form of land grants in order to attain spiritual merit for themselves as well as for their ancestors. During this period many *Brāhmaṇa* families migrated from different places specially from different parts of Northern India to Orissa. The donee in the Nagpur Museum plates[3] of Janmējaya was an immigrant from *Purusha maṇḍapa* in the Oḍra country and the donee in the Gaintāla plates[4] migrated from the village *Sāluri* in *Madhyadēśa*, so also the donees in the Kālibhana copper plate[5] and Orissa State Museum plates[6] of Yayāti were immigrants from Muktāvati and Likhanḍa villages of Srāvasti. Several donees also migrated from the neighbouring countries like Rāḍha[7] etc. According to tradition Yayāti had brought ten thousand *Brāhmaṇas* well versed in the study of *Vēdas* and *Vēdāngas* from Kanyākubj or modern Kanauj to settle in Orissa.[8] These *Brāhmaṇas* belonged to different *gotras*, *pravaras* and *anupravaras*. Many of these *Brāhmaṇas* had the *Kaunḍinya gotra, Parāśara gotra, Gautama gotra, Kauśhika gotra* etc. and the three *Rishi*

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1. Chattopādhyāya, S., *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 7.
2. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 184-201.
3. EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-143.
4. OHRJ, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 192-7.
5. IHQ, Vol. XX, pp. 245-50.
6. OHRJ, Vol. XII.
7. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95.
8. Panigrahi, K. C., *Itihāsa o Kimbadantī*, p. 1.

pravaras of *Gautama*, *Angirasa* and *Ārtathya* etc. Moreover some of them belonged to the *Madhyandina* branch of the *Vājasēnaya* school of *Yajurvēda*, *Chondoga kauthuma sākhā*, *Gautama sākhā* etc. It seems that during this period the subcastes of the *Brāhmaṇas* had not been formed and the *Brāhmaṇas* used different title like ***Bhaṭṭa***, *Śarmā* etc.

The *Brāhmaṇas* followed a number of professions. Though the main function of the *Brāhmaṇas* was the study and teaching of *Vēdas* and the performance of religious rites but some of them were famous scholars and some were great warriors. Purushottama Bhaṭṭa was a great scholar, the best of the scholars who edited the eulogy of Udyotakēśarī. He was learned in Grammar, Political Science, Poetry, Logic besides in the *Vēdas*.[9] Many *Brāhmaṇas* were also allowed to follow the profession of a *Kshatriya*, *Brāhmaṇas* served as Dūtakas.[10] *Brāhmaṇas* held important posts in the State. Sādhāraṇa[11], the Chief Minister of Janmējaya I was a *Brāhmaṇa*, who was also a great scholar. Under his instructions the documents were written. Some *Brāhmaṇas* were also astrologers. Bhaṭṭaputra Dēva was a *Brāhmaṇa* astrologer who was attached to the court of Janmējaya and was granted some lands by him.[12] Thus the *Brāhmaṇas* followed many professions both religious and secular during this period. They commanded greatest respect in the society. They enjoyed some privileges and facilities from which the other castes were deprived of.

Next to the *Brāhmaṇas* in importance were the *Kshatriyas* in the society of our period. Though we do not have any direct reference regarding the existence of this caste, but the account of Tārānāth[13] reveals the existence of this class in the society. Moreover the reference of *Raṇakās*, *Sāmantas* etc, in the records also indicates the existence of the *Kshatriya* caste during this period. The Somavaṁśī rulers themselves were *Khatriyas*, who belonged to the lunar race. Being *Kshatriyas* they also maintained matrimonial relations with the contemporary principal *Kshatriya* families. The mother of Udyotakēśarī was the daughter of the solar race[14] and that of the mother of Bālārjuna was the princess of the Gupta family of Magadha.[15] The

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9. JASB, Vol. XIII, p. 70.
10. Dūtaka was an officer who executed the charters. His duty was to convey the orders of the king to the local officers.
11. OHRJ, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 197.
12. IHQ, Vol. XX, pp. 245-50.
13. IA, Vol. IV, p. 243.
14. JBORS, Vol. VII, pp. 557-62.
15. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 184-201.

ruler and the members of their family enjoyed the highest status among the *Kshatriyas.*

Generally the *Kshatriyas* were fighters, but all *Kshatriyas* were not warriors and some have been found to have followed many other professions. Though we do not find any reference to *Kshatriyas* who held the important civil and military offices in the State, but the officers who held the post of the *Sandhivigrahikas* under the Somavaṁśī kings must have belonged to this caste. According to Travernier, in the 14th century the Rājputs were the fighters, whereas the remaining *Khatris* i.e. *Kshatriyas* had degenerated from their military profession and taken to trade.[16] This system might have also prevailed in our period. Though in the medieval period there was the practice of the marriage of the *Kshatriyas* with other castes, we do not have instances in our period to show the prevalence of this custom.

The *Vaiśyas* were a rich community who seems to have enjoyed some importance in the society during the medieval period. Nothing is known for certain about this community, but from the inscriptions of our period, we get some reference to merchant's associations[17], who certainly belonged to this *Vaiśya* community. Moreover the physicians[18] and the engraver of the charters also might have formed a part of this community. The engraver of the charter can not be included in the fourth order because we see in the Gaintal plates of Janmējaya that Haradāsa, the engraver of the charter was the son of Ullāsa, who was a *Vaṇika* or merchant.[19] That engravers of charters belonged to the *Vaiśya* community is also proved by the Baud grant[20] of the Bhanja king, Raṇabhanja which was inscribed by the *Vaṇika* Sivānga. In the Ganga period[21] some of the *Vaiśyas* were rich enough to donate land to *Brāhmaṇas* and temples also.

Besides the *Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas* and the *Vaiśyas* we also notice the *Māḷākāras* (garland makers), *Swarṇakāras* (goldsmith), *Gauḍa* (Cowherd) etc. in the inscriptions of our period. Among them the *Swarṇakāras* belonged to the *Vaiśya* community.

Our information about the fourth order is very insufficient. However Ibn-Khurdadhaba[22] maintained that in the medieval period *Sanḍiliar* and *Lāhud* were

16. *Travernier's travels in India,* p. 337-8.
17. EI, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255.
18. IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 181.
19. OHRJ, Vol. XI, No. 31, p. 197.
20. EI, Vol. XII, p. 328.
21. Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, Part III, pp. 145-46.
22. Elliot, H. M. and Dowson, J., *The History of India as told by its own Historians,* Vol. I, pp. 16-17.

regarded as untouchables. From the accounts of some foreign travellers[23] also we know that the *Chaṇḍālas* (sāṇḍāḷia) were regarded as untouchables and were considered as social outcastes in the Gupta period because of their indescent practices. This view is supported also by the *Smritis* and *Dharmaśāstras.*[24] Since that time the *Chaṇḍālas* occupied the lowest position in the Orissan society. In our period this community occupied the lowest position in the society and rendered services to the higher castes. The various tribal castes also most probably belonged to the fourth order. The Narasiṁhapur charter of Udyotakēśarī refers to the habitation of *S'avaras* in Orissa during our period[25], who perhaps formed a part of the fourth order in the society.

The *Kāyasthas* emerged as a new caste in the medieval period. The earliest reference of this group is found in the *Smriti* of Yājnavālkya.[26] The *Kāyasthas* were a professional class doing clerical works, who worked as scribes and wrote charters and documents during this period. The Patna plate of Mahābhavagupta I, Janmējaya was written by *Kāyastha* Koi Ghosha.[27] The Cuttack plate of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha was written by *Kāyastha* Mangaladaṭṭa.[28] B. C. Majumdar thought that the title Ghosha indicates the employment of Bengali *Kāyasthas* as court officers.[29] But it has rightly been remarked by Dr. A. P. Shah that this view can be sustained only if it could be shown that the *Kāyasthas* of Bengal bore the title Ghosha during this period and it is likely that the Ghosha *Kāyasthas* migrated from Orissa to Bengal.[30]

Thus in the main there were four castes in our period and many subcastes sprang up subsequently. That the rulers of our period were responsible enough to uphold the *Varṇa* system is proved by epigraphic records. According to Kauṭilya the king being the promulgator of *Dharma* should protect the four fold caste system.[31]

Position of Women :

Inscriptions of our period show that women enjoyed a position of honour in

23. Ghosh, N. N., *Early History of India*, p. 269.
24. Kane, P. V., *History of the Dharmaśāstras*, II, p. 48.
25. I.O., IV, p. 308.
26. Kane, P. V., Ibid., II, pp. 75-76.
27. JASB, Vol. I (1905) (NS), pp. 5-6, 12-13.
28. EI, Vol. III, pp. 355-9.
29. Ibid, Vol. XI, p. 103.
30. Shah, A. P., *Life in Medieval Orissa*, p. 131.
31. Arthaśāstra, III, p. 1.

the society and they played an important part in the administration of the State also. The position of women as found in the societies of Manu, Yajnavālkyā, Brihaspati and others is not very fair.[32] They are entirely dependent on the husband, parents and sons. However they recommended punishment, for misbehaviour towards the female members of the family.[33]

There are several instances in the Bhaumakara period, to show that queens occupied the throne several times in the absence of male heirs. This system was not followed in our period due to the reason that there was no necessity of it, a male heir always being available for the coronation. However Prithvi Mahādēvī II the daughter of Janmējaya and the wife of Bhaumakara king Śubhakara IV assumed the throne of Tośāḷi at the death of her husband.[34] Another Somavaṁśī princess Trīkaḷingamahādēvī, queen of the Bhanja king Vidhyādhara Bhanja of Vanjulvāka also played an important part in the reign of her husband.[35] During the time of Bālārjuna, his mother queen Vasatā had acted as his regent as he was very young at the time of his coronation.[36] Her character and personality as revealed from the Śirpur Stone Inscription[36a] suggest that training of the princesses was not neglected. They were well trained in the art of government to cope with the need of time and occupied a place of honour in the administrative hierarchy.

The female member of the royal families were given some rights and privileges. They were empowered to register land charters. The queens of our period were very charitable and religious minded and we know that Vasatā[37] the mother of Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta had constructed the temple of Hari at Śirpur and also had granted some villages for the protection of that. So also queen Kolāvati[38] had constructed the Brahmēśwara temple. Thus it seems that the queens were free to grant villages to the *Brāhmaṇas*, religious institutions as well as to construct temples also.

Polygamy was known as practised in the Bhaumakara period.[39] Though we do not have any such example in our period, but it seems that the rulers encouraged

32. *Manusmriti*, Vol. VII, 22, 3685 ; *Yajnavalkyasmriti*, p. 66.
33. Ibid., p. 22.
34. EI, Vol. XXIX, pp. 219-20.
35. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 296-98.
36. Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 184-201.
36a. EI, Vol. XXXI, p.
37. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 184-207.
38. JASB, Vol. VII, pp. 557-62.
39. Śubhakara V. married two princesses, Gauri Mahādēvī and Vakulamahādēvī. Misra, B., op.cit.

polygamy and kept concubines. In the Ratnagiri plates[40] of Karṇadēva, the name of one Karpuraśrī is mentioned who hailed from Solānāpura, Some scholars[41] are of the opinion that this Karpuraśrī, a dancing girl ultimately became his queen, though we do not have any evidence to prove this. Dr. Sircar is of the opinion the absence of any reference to Karpuraśrī's father and grand father and her representation as the daughter and grand daughter of females appear to suggest that she was born of a harlot.[42] Karpuraśn's mother was a Mahari, which is an Oriya word and means dancing girl or *dēvadāsī*.[43]

The practice of dedicating maidens or *dēvadāsīs* to Gods for services in temples was prevalent. They served the Gods through dance and music. It is mentioned in the Brahmēśwara temple inscription that Kolāvatī had dedicated some beautiful dancing girls to Lord Śiva.[44]

We do not have much information about the education of women during this period. But it seems from the activities of the female members of the royal families that they were educated. Even though not highly educated, it seems that women of this period were not very illiterate and they were capable of atleast writing a letter.

General Customs and Manners :

Child marriage was practised, which was very popular in the ancient and medieval period.[45] The contemporary *Smritis*[46] maintain that girls should be married before they attained puberty. Therefore we may assume that this system was widely practised in the society. Under the Somavaṁśī kings *Satī* system was not prevalent and we have many instances of widowhood in the society. It is known that queen Vasatā and Kolāvatī lived as widows after the death of their husbands. Most probably there was no custom of remarriage.[47] From inscriptional references it appears that purdah system was unknown in the society.

The status of a woman in family and society suffered a sudden setback immediately after the death of her husband. She had to maintain very strict celibacy,

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40. EI, Vol. XXXIII, p. 266.
41. Panigrahi, K. C., *Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, p. 39.
42. Sircar, D. C., *Religious Life in Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 202.
43. Ibid., p. 203.
44. JASB, Vol. VII.
45. *Yajnavālkyāsmriti*, Vol. I, p. 64.
46. *Brihadyama*, Vol. III, 22, Samvata, 1, 67.
47. Majumdar, R. C., *Ancient India*, p. 565.

self restraint and a very hard and austere life. The widow could not use musk (*Kasturika*) painting etc. in accordance to a long prevailing custom.[48] Even queen Vasatā after the demise of her husband Harshagupta always observed fasts and austerities.[49]

Gambling and prostitution existed in the society. But they were treated bad specially for the *Brāhmaṇas*. Money lending was also regarded as bad practice.[50]

Dress and Ornaments :

From the sculptures of the period we can have a good knowledge about the dress and ornaments used by the people in the society. Generally men wore *dhoti* and sometimes used a *chādar* or a scarf as the upper garment. Common men used only *dhoti* and well to-do persons added one upper garment over the *dhoti* as a mark of class distinction. Several statues on the Muktēśwara temple[51] are dressed in petticoats or kilts, the Indian ghāgrā held round the waist by a jewelled girdle. These jewelled girdles were used by the people not only as an ornament but also as a belt to tie the undergarment round the waist. Women used two pieces of garments, one upper and the other lower. The lower garment they tied round their waist. Both male and female dresses have folds in the front and the folds in the female garments are sometimes gathered and passed between the legs and tucked in behind. The garments are usually ornamented with embroidery.[52] The dress for the dancing girls was something quite different from the ordinary women folk. They were dressed in a close fitting tunic.

Both men and women wore a variety of ornaments. They were very fond of ornaments and covered the various parts of the body with different types of ornaments. Ladies used carflowers, rings, necklaces, long chains, chanḍrahāras, armlets, wrist and waist ornaments. Both men and women wore a chain with small bells for the legs. Besides this men also used ornaments for the neck and ear. They wore *kankaṇas* and *kunḍalas*. The ornaments were made of gold and we get references to ornaments of pearls generally used by rich people.

Women dressed their hair in different styles and the most common style was the wearing of the chignon[53], which style is still now followed by the womenfolk

48. EI, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 269-74.
49. Ibid., Vol. XI, Vr. 17.
50. EI, Vol. XI, Vr. 31.
51. Mitra, R. L., *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 287.
52. Ibid., p. 80.
53. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., plate XXV, fig. 95.

of Orissa. Sometimes they used some ornaments for dressing the hair[54]. Men also kept long hair and some had the same style of chignon but without the curls.

Food and Drinks :

People used to take various types of food, the commonly used cereal among them was rice. From the sculpture of the period we can have some idea about the various kinds of food preparations. In the Muktēśwara temple we can see several figures in bas relief with cakes of different kinds in their hands. The figure of Ganēsha in the Lingarāj temple is represented as holding a bowl in which are shown a number of globular lumps, each made up of a collection of small round grains exactly resembling a kind of sweetmeat prepared now a days.

Fruits like mango, basialatifolia etc. which were grown abundantly were eaten by the people.[55] Honey *(Madhuka)*[56] was also one important item among the food commodities. Though we do not know anything about the use of non-vegetarian foods, the grants to hunting rights[57] suggests that non-vegetarian food also was taken by the people. Moveover reference to the right of fishing[58] is also found in the inscriptions.

Education and Literature :

A large number of subjects both religious and secular were studied. Inscriptions of the period mention the proficiency of the scholars in various subjects like History, Political Science, Logic, Grammar, Poetry, Arthaśāstra, Purāṇas, Smritis, Vēdas, Vēdangas[59], Astrology[60] and Medical Sciences.[61]

Of these grammar was the most extensively studied branch being the key subject to the knowledge of the rest of the sciences. Alberuni informs us that in the medieval period grammar was held in the highest estimation. The study of logic was greatly encouraged. A great sanctity was attached to the study of Vēdic literature in the early *Dharmaśāstras* which lays down that the whole of the *Vēdas* was to be studied for 12 years by the first three classes. Thus the *Śudras* were entirely excluded from it. The study of *Dharmaśāstra* which helped a lot in the

54. Ibid., fig. no. 96.
55. EI, Vol. XXIII, pp. 248-55.
56. JBORS, Vol. II (1916), pp. 45-55.
57. EI, Vol. XII, pp. 237-42.
58. Kelga plates of Kumāra Somēśwaradēva, EI, Vol. XXVIII,
59. JASB, Vol. XIII, p. 70.
60. IHQ, Vol. XX, pp. 245-50.
61. IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 181.

administration of justice was more popular than the study of the *Vēdas*. Study of astrology was fairly popular in our period and royal courts used to maintain astrologers.

As in the society in the education field also the *Brāhamaṇas* occupied the highest position. They seem to be the most educated class in the society and most probably imparted education to all other classes which was also the practice in the contemporary period. They were expected to be very proficient in the study of *Vēdic* literature, *Śāstras* and *Smritis*. Sādhāraṇa, the *Brāhmaṇa* Chief Minister of Janmējaya I was the great scholar of this period. So also Purushottama Bhaṭṭa, the poet of Udyotakēśarī had also mastered the different branches of knowledge.

Besides the *Brāhamaṇas*, *Kshatriyas* also specially the kings and members of the royal family seem to have received higher education. In the medieval period education of a prince comprised a large number of subjects. He was expected to study the entire range of religious literature including *Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Itihāsa, Vyākaraṇa* etc. It is mentioned in the Māllar plates of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna that 'Śivagupta has attained all the accomplishments of a conqueror through the perfection of commendable discipline attained by a special study of all the royal lores…'[62]. So also regarding Yayāti II Chanḍīhara it is found in the Narasiṁhapur charter of Udyotakēśarī that he was the ocean of learning.[63]

In very early ages *āśramas* or the hermitages known as *gurukuḷas* were the seats of learning. Education in that age was most probably organised by *Vihāras*, *maṭhas* and temples. The *agrahāra* villages which were granted to *Brāhmaṇas* for their maintenance might have served as centres of education.[64]

A number of Sanskrit scholars well-versed in different branches of study flourished in Orissa during this period. We have already stated about *Brāhmaṇa* scholars like Sādhāraṇa and Purushottama Bhaṭṭa, Sādhāraṇa has been compared with '*Suraguru*' or *Brihaspati* for his mastery in different branches of studies.[65] Siṁhadaṭṭa was also a notable Sanskrit scholar of this period who was the *Sandhivigraha* of Yayāti I and his son Bhīmaratha.[66] From the Brahmēśvara temple inscription of Udyotakēśarī, it is known that Purushottama Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Prasasti was a versatile scholar, who was proficient in *Vēda*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Itihāsa*,

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62. EI, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.
63. JBORS, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15.
64. Altekar, A. S., *Education in Ancient India*, p. 56.
65. OHRJ, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 197.
66. JASB (NS), Vol. I.

Arthaśāstra, *Kavitā*, *Tarka* and *Brahmasūtra* (and was a *Kavivara* or a great poet.[67] Though we get no information regarding the works of this Purushottama Bhaṭṭa, some medieval works on Sanskrit and Prakrit speak of a Buddhist grammarian named Purushottamadēva.[68] Moreover the medieval lexicons like *'Trīkanḍasēsha'*, *'Hārāvaḷī'* etc. were also written by one Burushottama.[69] As from the records of Udyotakēśarī it is known that Purushottama Bhaṭṭa was a great grammarian and poet, one may assume that the Purushottamadēva and Purushottama might be the same as Purushottama Bhaṭṭa of the Somavaṁśī period.

Āchārya Śubhachandradēva the disciple of Kulachandra and the great saint of the *Digambar* Jaina community of the time of Udyotakēśarī has been identified with the Jaina *Āchārya* Śubhachandra who was the author of *'Gyanārnāva'*, which extels the merits of meditation and *Yogic* observations.[70] In the medieval period we know that *Yoga* philosophy was very popular.

It is stated in the *Bhakti Bhāgavat Mahākāvyam* that Udayotakēśarī's *guru* was one Bhavadēva who was a *Vatsagotri Brāhmaṇa* and devoted to *tantric* cult. He is regarded as the author of 'Tāntranāva'.[71]

Gagana *Śiva* or Gagana *S'ambhu* an *āchārya* of the *Mattamayūra* sect, whose inscription is found at Rānipur Jhariāl was a profound scholar of this age who wrote *'Vyomavatī'*.[72]

A Sanskrit poet named Nārāyan Sātakarṇi as known from a newly discovered inscription flourished during the reign of one Somavaṁśī king, whose name is not mentioned. He was the author of a work called *'Rāmābhiudaya kāvyam'*.[73]

The author of the prasasti of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna's Gāndhēśvara temple inscription was one Bhūsaṇadēva kavi. He is identified with the son of the glorious poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa[74], the court poet of Harshavardhan of Kanauj. In the history of

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67. JASB, Vol. XIII, p. 70.
68. OHRJ, Vol. I, No. 2, 1952, p. 168.
69. Ibid.
70. Mahapatra, K. N., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 9.
71. JAS, No. 1, p. 24.
72. OHRJ, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 68.
73. Mahākośaḷa Historical Society papers, Vol. II, app. p. 69.
74. Rajguru, S. N. 10, Vol. IV, p. 303. According to Sri Rajguru he (Bhūsaṇabhaṭṭa) might have had migrated like many other *Brāhmaṇas* from Northern India to Daksina Kośaḷa and served as the court poet of Bālārjuna.

the Sanskrit literature we get the name of Bhūsaṇa who was the son of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Bāṇabhaṭṭa's '*Kādambarī*' is said to have been left incomplete at the time of his death. So Bhūsaṇa, completed the later part of the *Kādambarī*. However some inscriptions of Bālārjuna contain verses composed with *anūpsāra* and *yamaka* which style was popular in the post Bāṇa period and it is not unreasonable to conclude that the court poets of the Somavaṁśī kings were influenced by Bāṇabhaṭṭa's style. But one cannot say with certainity whether this Bhūsaṇa is in any way connected with the family of the great poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

Thus it seems that Sanskrit literature and language made considerable development during this period. The rulers were great patrons of Sanskrit literature and the use of Sanskrit language in their copper plates and inscriptions undoubtedly suggests its popularity in those days in Orissa. Some of the texts are composed partly in prose and partly in verse. Some of them which sing the glories of the kings are highly ornamental and reveal to some extent the poetic skill and genius of the court poets of the time and also the literary style of the period. Some of the copper plates also suggest that by that time, Oriya language was already in the process of formation. We can see the use of some Oriya words in some charters. In the Soṇepur plates of *Kumāra Somēśvaradēva* we find the word 'Bāghachama' which is but an Oriya word and like that many other Oriya words can be found in the charters.

Chapter Seven

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

The epigraphic records of the period refer to diverse creeds and point out clearly the catholicity of mind and tolerant policy of the Somavaṃśī kings. The kings were staunch supporters of Śaivism, but they held other faiths like Vaishnavism, Śaktism, Buddhism and Jainism also in high esteem. All these religious cults prospered well and received royal patronage under the tolerant rule of the Somavaṁśīs.

Śaivism :

The Somavaṁśī kings were great devotees of *Śiva* and ardent patrons of Śaivism. All the rulers of the dynasty were staunch Śaivites, who assumed the Śaivite epithet of *Parama Mahēśwara* and some had the Śaivite emblem of the bull on their seals.[1]

Before the advent of the Somavaṃśī kings during the time of the Bhaumakaras Śaivism had lost much of its popularity due to the lack of royal patronage. Although Śaivism had attained an important position in the 7th and 8th century A.D. under the Śailodbhavas[2] of Kongoda and the Gangas[3] of Kaḷinga who were devout worshippers of *Śiva* and patrons of Śaivism, the religion was very much neglected during the time of the Bhaumakaras. It is well known that the earlier rulers of the Bhauma dynasty were followers of Buddhism and had extended liberal royal patronage to it.[4] They took great care for its expansion in Orissa, Jajpur and its surroundings were adorned with a large number of Buddhist monasteries during their period. Thus Śaivism was in a non-existing state when the Somavaṁśīs ascended the throne of Utkaḷa. It was left to them to recover the lost glory of Śaivism, the most popular religious faith of ancient Orissa.

All the earlier rulers of the *Soma* dynasty ruling at Śirpur were Vaishnavites[5] except Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, who was a follower of Śaivism. His mother queen Vasatā was also a follower of Vaishnavism, she had constructed the temple of *Hari*[6]

1. EI, Vol. XXVII, p. 287.
2. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 143-6.
3. JAHRS, Vol. II, p. 275.
4. EI, Vol. XXVIII, p. 180.
5. CII, Vol. III, pp. 291-99 ; EI, Vol. XXXI, pp. 219-22.
6. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 184-201.

at Śirpura during her reign. However the successors of Bālārjuna i.e. the later Somavaṁśī kings became patrons of Śaivism. It seems that though the ancestors of Bālārjuna were Vaishnavites he accepted Śaivism due to the influence of the Śaiva ascetic Sadāśivāchārya, who visited Kośaḷa during his time and converted him into a Śaivite. Thereby he assumed the title of *Parama Mahēśwara* instead of *Parama Vaishnava.*[7] Secondly there is reference to Śankarāchārya's visit to Purī, when most probably his successor Janmējaya Mahābhavagupta I was ruling over Utkaḷa. He and his disciples carried on vigorous campaigns against Buddhism and introduced the Śaivite form of worship. His teaching must have stimulated the growth of Śaivism in Orissa.[8] It is also said that he and his disciples defeated many Buddhist pandits by their vast learning and arguments and converted some of them into their own faith.[9]

The kings of the dynasty took various steps for the rise and spread of Śaivism in Orissa. In order to make it the most popular religion they very liberally granted villages to the Śaivite temples, priests, *Brāhmaṇs* and Śaiva ascetics. Bālārjuna[10] granted a village to Lord Iśānēśwara installed at Khadirapadra village for *vali, charu, sattra, nivēdya* and for the repair and maintenance of the structure in response to the request of a Śaiva ascetic, a disciple of *Pramathāchārya*, whose preceptor hailed from the *Pancha Yajna topovana* in the *Dvaitāvana* forest.[11] The Charity was endowed through the *Brāhmaṇs* of Vaidyapadraka, which was made tax free and exempted from all sorts of oppressions.

Durgarakshita, a servant of the king Bālārjuna constructed the temple of *Śambhu* and made it over to Sadāśivāchārya, hailing from the penance grove entitled Amaradakā. The ascetic was granted some land in the Kadasima village. In the Gudasarkārak village were granted some land in favour of God *Madanārati* (*Śiva*) by means of a charter.[12] Special arrangements were made for the worship of Lord Śiva with dance, music as well as offering of flowers. It is recorded in the Gāndhēśvara[13] temple inscription that Jejuraka, a subject of Śivagupta made arrangements for the offering of flowers for the puja of Lord Gāndhēśvara.

Land donations were given to *Brāhmaṇas* very liberally in order to encourage

7. EI, Vol. XXXI, pp. 219-22.
8. Mukherjee, P., *History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa*, pp. 20-21.
9. Ibid.
10. Lodhiā Plates of Bālārjuna, EI, Vol. XXVII, pp. 319-25.
11. EI, Vol. XXVII, p. 320.
12. Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 31-36.
13. I.O., Vol. IV, p. 308.

them to come and settle in Orissa. There is a tradition still current in Orissa that Yayāti Kēśarī (Yayāti II) had performed a ten horse sacrifice near Vaitaranī at Jājpur for which he had invited ten thousand *Brāhmaṇs* from Kanauj. There is still a *ghāt* on the Vaitaranī river at Jājpur which is known as *Daśāśwamēdha ghāṭa.*

A large number of *S'aiva gurus* who hailed from far off places flourished during this period and we have already mentioned about some of them like Sadāśivāchārya,[14] Sadhyāśivāchārya[15] and Prathamāchārya.[16] These Śaiva *gurus* preached the Śaiva doctrine and philosophy among the people and initiated them into their own faith. Moreover the ascetic had to arrange for sacrificial ceremonies and to run free-feeding establishments every year during the full moon day of *Āsāda, Kārtika* and *Phālguna.* It is also said that during this period *Āchārya Gaganā S'iva*[17] also known as *Yoma S'iva* belonging to the *Mattamayura* sect came to Orissa. He received the patron ge of Janmējaya I and built the temple of Somēśwara at Rānīpur-Jhariāl of western Orissa which was one of the main centres of the activities of the *Soma* kings, when they were at Kośaḷa.

Out of their religious zeal they constructed many beautiful temples dedicated to Lord *S'iva,* some of which have got a high place in the history of Indian art and architecture. The temple of Muktēśwara was constructed by Jajāti I.[18] It was Jajāti II who began the construction of the great temple of Lingarāj, the name of the temple itself indicates its superiority over all other *S'ivalinga* temples at Bhubaneswar. His son Udyotakēśarī built the magnificent temple of Brahmēśvara[19]. Besides these many more Śiva temples were constructed during this period.

Among the four forms of Śaiva sects i.e. *S'aiva, Mahēśwara, Kāpāḷika* and *Lākuḷisa,* the last was more popular in Orissa during this time. The form of Śaivism which received its patronage during the time of Bālārjuna was the *Mattamayura* sect, the important centre of which was Central India from where the *Śaiva āchārya* hailed during his time. The Śailodbhavas were also the followers of this sect.[20] But the activities of this sect seems to have died down in the later period, where the images of *Lākuḷisa* the first *Pāśupati* teacher became more and more prominent. The

14. EI, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31-6.
15. Ibid.
16. EI, Vol. XXVII, p. 320.
17. EI, Vol. XXIV, pp. 239-43.
18. Panigrahi, K. C., ARB, p. 159.
19. JASB, Vol. VII, June 1837, pp. 557.
20. EI, Vol. III, p. 41. The Symbol of this sect is matted hair, celetial river, garland of skulls, digits of moon, pārvati etc. (JBRS, Vol. XXXIX, p. 6).

Lākulisa Pāśupata sect found its way to Orissa during the Śailodbhava period but it seems to have gained ascendency during the time of the Somavaṁśīs. A large number of figures of *Lākulisa* are seen in various *mudras* in the Muktēśwara temple. *Lākulisa* is further represented in the company of the teachers of the *Pāśupata* sect on the doorway of the *Jagamohana* of the Rājārānī temple built by the Soma kings.[21]

During this period *Śiva* was worshipped under various names and forms by the people of Orissa. In the inscriptions and charters we come across different names of Śiva such as *Brahmēśwara, Muktēśwara, Madanārti Īśānēśwara, Gāndhēśwara, Śambhu* etc. Images of dancing Natarāj are found in the Brahmēśwara temple and many images of the fighting *Śiva* are found in the Muktēśwara temple. In the Brahmēśwara temple *Śiva* appears in various figures such as *Ajaikapada Bhairava, Andhakā-surabadhamuty, Natarāj, Ardhanārīśvara* and *Bhairava* in the skeleton form. In the Lingarāj temple under the huge *amālakā* are found beautiful four armed seated figures of *Śiva*.

Though *Śiva* is represented in different human forms, his worship in the *Linga* form was widely prevalent in Orissa during this time. In the great Lingarāj temple *Śiva* is worshipped in the *linga* form. Scenes of *linga* worship are carved in the Rājārānī temple.[22]

Thus Śaivism received a great impetus under the rulers of this dynasty and reached the pinnacle of its glory in Orissa. As stated earlier Jājpur, which was once a great centre of Buddhism during the time of Bhaumakaras became a very prominent centre of Śaivism under the Somavaṁśī kings, where even today the remnants of a large number of *Śivalingas* and images can be found.

Vaishnavism :

Under the tolerant rule of the Somavaṁśī kings, Vaishnavism also became a great force in the religious life of Orissa, though it was not as popular as was Śaivism. The rulers were also the devotees of *Vishnu* and expressed their reverence to Lord *Vishnu* along with other gods and goddesses. Their charters[23] contain their homages to *Āditya, Varuṇa, Soma, Hutāsana, Śūlapāṇi* and *Vishnu*. The seals attached to their charters have the emblem of *Gaja Laxmī*[24], invoke the blessing of God *Nrusiṁha*, an incarnation of *Vishnu*.[25] So also Dharmaratha is compared with

21. Panigrahi, K. C., ARB, Figs. 129-130.
22. Ibid., fig. 63.
23. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 142.
24. OHRJ, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 206.
25. EI, Vol. XI, p. 184.

the Parśurām incarnation of *Vishnu* for his great powers.[26] Likewise all most all the rulers of the dynasty have been compared either with *Vishñu* or with any of his incarnations for their greatness of powers in their records. We have already shown that the early members of the dynasty at Śirpur were Vaishnavities in their faith. Out of this faith they constructed many temples dedicated to Lord *Vishnu* and donated land grants to *Brāhmaṇas* for the worship of the God. The Lakshmaṇa temple constructed by Vasatā, mother of Bālārjuna was dedicated to Lord *Vishnu.*[27] His avataras are carved on the door jambs and there is a figure of *Varāha* on one of the broken pilasters. The *Vishnu* temple of Rānīpur-Jhariāl stytistically regarded the prototype of Lakshmaṇa temple is also assigned to this period.[28]

It is stated in the *Mādaļāpānji* that Yayāti Kēśarī built the former temple of Jagannātha, the height of which was 33 cubits or 57 feet and he also built the two other temples for *Vimaļā* and *Mahālaxmī* the height of each of which was 18 cubits or 27 feet. Literary evidences[29] are also there which prove that the former temple of Jagannāth was constructed by Yayāti I.

However, there was harmony between the two sects of Hinduism i.e. Śaivism and Vaishnavism, which found its expression in the sculptures of the period. Though the temple of Lingarāj is dedicated to Lord *Śiva* the choice of ornaments is by no way confined to the emblems of God *S'iva* and we find the Vaishnavite symbols *Gadā, Padma, S'ankha, Chakra* associated with the *S'iva* cult. The *Vahānastamba* infront of the temple also contains at its top not only the image of *Nandī* but also that of *Garuḍa* pointing out a synthesis of Vaishnavism and Śaivism. The front entrance of the Śaiva temple of Muktēśwara shows the image of *Mahālaxmī* carved on the doorside.

Besides this, the people in Orissa during this period also worshipped other gods like *Ganēsha, Kārttikēya, Brahmā, Sūrya, Nāga, Indra, Agni, Yama* etc. The image of *Ganēsha* and *Kārttikēya* are seen very often in several temples, which shows that both these deities were very popular. Though Sun worship was prevalent in Orissa since earliest times, it could not flourish well due to the popularity of Buddhism. However it again became prominent under the Somavaṁśī kings who speak their homage to the Sun god and built temples for the Sun god.[30]

Several figures of *Navagrahas* which are intimately connected with the solar cult are also found in the temples like Lingarāj, Muktēśvara etc.

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26. Cunningham, A., ASI, Vol. XIII, plate. IV.
27. Das, M. N. (Ed.), *Side lights on the history and Culture of Orissa,* p. 578.
28. *Madalapānji* (Prachi edition), p. 6.
29. OHRJ, Vol. III, no. 1, p. 14.
30. Sonepur plates of Janmējaya, EI, Vol. XXIII, pp. 248-55.

We have a few specimens of *Nāgas* also in these temples. Also the *Asta-dikpāḷas*[31] or the guardian deities of eight corners namely *Īndra, Agni, Yama, Nairita, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubēra* and *Īśāṇa* are found in the Brahmēśwara and Rājārānī temples.

Some icons of *Gangā* and *Yamunā* appear at the Muktēśwara temple in the door jambs of both the *Jagamohana* and the sanctuary and the goddess *Saraswatī* is found sitting on a lotus and holding a long *Vīṇa* in both hands with the women attendants on both sides, in the same temple.

It seems that the various impressive and interesting stories of the *epics* and *purāṇas* inspired the people of that period very much and the sculptors also chose those subjects to depict them in their own creations.[32]

Śaktism :

Śaktism also prevailed in the Somavaṁśī kingdom. It is known from the inscriptional references to the worship of *Śakta* divinities that Śaktism was very popular among the people in Orissa. The Māranjamurā charter[33] of Yayāti II entitle *Bhagavatī Panchāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā* of *pāṭṭanā Sūvarṇapur* as their family deity. Yayāti II was also known as *Chanḍīhara* which suggests that he was *Chanḍī (Śakti)* and *Hara (Śiva)*. The popularity of the worship of *Śakṭi* is further proved by the fact that queen Vasatā, the mother of Bālārjuna is compared with *Pārvatī* and Kolāvatī, the mother of Udyota Kēśarī is compared with *Dūrgā* in their inscriptions.[34]

Numerous sculptural representations of various *Śakta* deities seen in different places also confirm the prevalence of Śaktism. The *mātrikā* worship received a great impetus during this period. The concept of *mātrikās* or divine mothers is only one of the manifestations of Śakti. The *mātrikās* basically represent the embodied energy and prowess of the seven famous gods, their male counterparts, such as *Vishnu, Kumāra, Varaha, Īndra, Brahmā, Mahēśwara* and others.[35] Although the *mātrikās* are connected with the fierce aspects of killing the demons, they are shown simply standing or sitting with their respective attributes The *Sapta mātrikā* images near the *Mārkanḍēśwara* tank at Pūrī are said to have been erected by king Bhīmaratha or Bhīmakēśarī of the Soma dynasty.[36] A large number of *mātrikā* images found at

31. EI, Vol. XI, p. 97.
32. OHRJ, Vol. X, 1962, no. 4, p. 60.
33. JBORS, Vol. II, (1916), pp. 45-55.
34. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 184-202 and JRASB letters, Vol. XIII (1947), pp. 63-74.
35. PIHC, 1977, p. 197.
36. *Mādaḷāpānji* (Prachi edition), p. 19.

Jājpur and Rānīpur-Jhariāl have been assigned to this period. The *Sapta mātrikā* images of Bēlkhaṇḍi in the Kalāhāṇḍi district now preserved in Bēlkhaṇḍi Museum alongwith the *Chaṇḍī* temple have been ascribed to the reign of the illustrious Somavaṁśī kings.[37]

We can see the *mātrikā* images first in the Paraśurāmēśwara and Vaitāl temples, but a great deal of change in their presentation is marked in the Muktēśwara temple of this period where they are carved on an eight pettaled lotus carved in the ceiling of the *Jagamohana* holding babies in their arms (except Chāmuṇḍa) for the first time. This new conception was initiated during this period.[38] These *S'akti* images in their terrific forms were also sculpted on the temple of Brahmēśwara.

Another famous cult associated with the *S'akti* worship is the *Yoginī* cult. The *Yoginīs* were attendants on *Dūrgā* and were considered to be various forms of the goddess herself. Sanskrit literature mentions *yoginīs* as the various manifestation of *Dūrgā* engaged in fighting against the demons *S'ambhu* and *Niśambhu*. The *yoginīs* are 64 in number and the principal seven or eight are regarded as mother goddesses.[39] Although the shrines of 64 *yoginīs* are very few in India, we find their shrines in Hirapur near Bhubaneswar and Rānīpur-Jhariāl in the Bolāngir district. The latter is assigned to the Somavaṁśī period.[40]

Jainism :

Though Jainism was a very popular religion since earliest times it could not maintain its position later. During the time of the Bhaumakaras it had lost its supremacy due to lack of royal patronage. Very few dynasties in medieval Orissa patronised Jainism and under the rulers of this dynasty Jainism was not totally rooted out or neglected rather it survived and prospered due to the royal patronage extended to it. As far as inscriptional sources are concerned it is known that some kings of this dynasty were its great patrons and took care for the maintenance of that religion. They held Jainism in great respect. Udyotakēśarī was the last important king of this dynasty who paid heed to the renovation of religious institutions.[41] He was most probably influenced by the Jaina *Sramaṇa* Śubhachandra, who visited his kingdom and stayed there for some time.

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37. JKHRS, p. 168.
38. Panigrahi, K. C., ARB, p. 136.
39. Behera, K. S., *The Evolution of S'akti cult in Jājpur, Bhubaneswar* and *Pūrī in S'akti cult and Tara*, p. 82.
40. ASI, Vol. IX, p. 73.
41. EI, Vol. XIII, pp. 165-6.

It is known from the stone inscription in the *Navamūnī* cave[42] of the Khaṇḍigiri hill that one *Ācharyā* Kulachandra belonging to the illustrious *Āryasangha* was living in that hill and Śubhachandra, his disciple came to the cave on pilgrimage in the 18th regnal year of Udyotakēśarī's reign. Moreover it is recorded in the Lalātēndū Kēśarī cave that Udyotakēśarī in his 5th regnal year had restored the decayed tanks and ruined temples and also set up the images of the twenty four *Tirthānkaras*[43]. The Jaina images belong to the *Digāmbar* sect, which indicates that among the two sects of Jainism, the *Digāmbar* sect was more popular then in Orissa. He excavated one well for the Jaina priests who used to live there and worship the *Tirthānkaras*. These Jaina priests were perhaps invited to teach the doctrine and philosopy of Jainism among the people. We can also see a large number of Jaina *Tirthānkara* images in the Muktēśwara temple.

Buddhism :

From the accounts of Hieuntsang[44] it is known that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in certain parts of Orissa. However under the Sailodbhavas Buddhism had a rival in Brāhmanism. It could not prosper till the advent of the Bahumakaras, who as we know were great patrons of Buddhism. Among the Somavaṁśī kings, Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta, the last great ruler of the early branch of this dynasty was a great patron of Buddhism[45] though he was a Śaivite in religion.

He showed great respect to Buddhism and made very liberal land grants to Buddhist monks, nuns and monasteries. The Śirpur stone inscription[46] praises the 'lotus' feet of the *Sūgata* (Budha) and records the construction of a monastery by a *Bhiksu* named Ānanda Prabhā during the reign of Bālārjuna as well as the establishment of a *sattara* (feeding house) for the monks residing in the monastery and for the upkeep of that, a white rice field was given together with the supplementary crops grown in it. The monks were to enjoy it in succession.

Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna[47] had also donated a *Vihāra* to Buddhist nuns. He made the grant of the village Kalāsapura in the Tārāḍamska *bhoga* to the community of the venerable monks, who coming from the four quarters were residing in the small monastery at Tārāḍamska.

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42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Beal, S., op.cit., p. 204.
45. EI, Vol. XXXI, pp. 197-8.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 113.

Many Buddhist monasteries located at Śirpur are said to have been constructed by Bālārjuna and the revival of the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was the most outstanding feature of his reign.

Gradually with the rise of the later Somavaṁśīs, Buddhism lost much of its popularity, yet it existed, in a restricted form due to the predominance of Śaivism under the kings.

During the Bhaumakara period there was revival of *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism. The Somavaṁśis also followed a policy of reconciliation towards Buddhism. Bāṇapur has yielded a large number of Buddhist bronze images, where from the Somavaṁśī ruler Īndraratha's copper plate[48] has been discovered. Īndraratha had made a land grant to a female Buddhist deity called Khadirāvati Bhaṭṭāraka. Moreover their patronage of Buddhism is also known from the gift of the village by Karṇadēva[49] to Rāṇī Karpūraśrī hailing from Solanāpur, *Mahāvihāra* of Utkaḷadēsa. Solanāpur which has been identified with a village of the same name near Jājpur on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇī was an important Buddhist centre since the time of the Bhaumakaras and therefore it is presumed that the village granted to the lady was apparently a Buddhist in religion. D. Mitra[50] on the basis of the Bāṇapur plates of Īndraratha points out that Tārā had an honoured place here in the first half of the 10th century A.D. A image of Tārā is discovered at Bāṇapur. Some people and places bore the names of this Buddhist deity i.e. Tārādatta[51], Tārāḍamaska[52] etc. during this period.

All these prove the prevalence of Buddhism under the Somavaṁśī kings. It received royal patronage for its progress. General sympathy and toleration was the spirit of the age and that the rulers were antagonistic to Buddhism is not at all true.[53] Rather it has been pointed out that the slow process of assimilation of Buddhism into the fold of Hinduism during the period resulted in the acceptance of Lord Buddha, the founder of Buddhism as the ninth incarnation of *Vishnu*. Thus in the field of religion we mark the spirit of catholicity of the Somavaṁśī kings whose guiding principle was sympathetic toleration. Under the patronage of the Somavaṁśī kings a large number of institutions connected with different religions flourished in Orissa.

48. JAS, Vol. VII.
49. JBORS, Vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 206-210.
50. Mitra, D., *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 225.
51. EI. Vol. XXXI, pp. 31-6.
52. EI, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.
53. Mukherjee, P , *History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa*, p. 53. The persecution of the Buddhists pointed out in this work is taken from a later work, which was composed towards the later part of 16th Century A.D. There is no persecution of the Buddhists in any other contemporary works. Hence the view of Sri Mukherjee is tenable.

Chapter Eight

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

The Somavaṁśī period is a great landmark in the history of Orissan as well as Indian art and architecture. It will not be an exaggeration to say that in the history of Orissan art since earliest times, it is only in this period that we come across a large number of monuments of a very high standard. The Somavaṁśīs erected magnificant buildings and temples which stand today as the best specimens of Orissan architecture.

European scholars have divided Indian temples into two broad classes—'Indo-Aryan' and 'Drāviḍian'. This classification in a broader sense is no doubt correct, but later scholars have tried to show that at least four classes of temples evolved in different parts of India. Prof. R. D. Banerjee has drawn our attention to an inscription, in the Bēḷḷāry district in which mention has been made of four classes of temples in India namely—*Nāgara*, *Vēsara*, *Drāviḍa* and *Kaḷinga.*[1] Of these four classes of temples, the *Nāgara* type became most prevailing in North India, *Vēsara* in the West, *Drāviḍa* in the South and *Kaḷinga* in Orissa. It is well known that the ancient name of Orissa was *Kaḷinga*, the region which figured very prominently in the records of Asoka, the Great. The inscription from Holāl[2] proves beyond doubt that long before the Mohammadan conquest of Northern India, the architects of *Kaḷinga* had won for themselves a special recognition among the contemporary architects of India. The *Kaḷinga*, or in other words the Orissan type of architecture, by reason of its distinct individualities and peculiarities furnishes us with one of the most forceful architectural movements that was prevalent in Northern India. Generally the *Kaḷinga* type and the *Nāgara* style of architecture are included in one group, under the Indo-Aryan class. Because both have more or less the same characteristics and features. Both possess 'curvilinear spires, square plans, with projected angles'.[3] Whereas the other regional manifestations of *Nāgara* style indicate great modification and transformations in course of evolution, that of the Orissan temples represents the pure form of the original *Nāgara* style. The two provinces of India where the Indo-Aryan style can be studied with the greatest advantage are Dharwār on the West and Orissa on the East coast. The former has

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1. Kramrisch Stella, *The Hindu Temples,* Vol. I, p. 5.
2. Banerjee, R. D., *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 335.
3. Panigrahi, K. C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubanēśwar*, p. 52.

the advantage of being mixed up with the Drāviḍian style; in Orissa on the contrary, the style is perfectly pure being unmixed with any other and thus forms one of the most compact and homogeneous architectural groups in India.[4]

To view the development of the early Orissan temples we should deal here with a brief survey of the political history of Orissa, which is rather a confused history of different ruling dynasties. Though there is evidence that *Kaḷinga* was under the rule of the Maurya Emperor Aśoka, the Great, we do not have any archaeological remains of that period except the rock cut inscriptions at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa. The next landmark is furnished in the history of *Kaḷinga*, by Khāravēḷa of the *Chēta-Vaṁśa*. However sufficient materials have not yet been discovered to study the history of *Kaḷinga* after Khāravēḷa till the rise of the Sailodbhavas. The Sailodbhavas flourished probably in the second quarter of the 6th to the second half of the 8th century A.D.[5] This intervening period is known as the Blank Period in history. It is difficult to say at present as to how Orissan architecture evolved during this period.

The earliest standing temples in Orissa are to be found at Bhubanēśwar, the temple town where alone we can see hundreds of temples in various stages of preservation. The earliest specimens of the Orissan temples were small structures consisting of the sanctum, the deity within, and a tiny porch. In Orissa we notice three types of temples—*Rēkhā dēul*, *Piḍhā dēul* and *Khākarā dēul*, the last is associated with *S'akta* worship. *Rēkhā dēul* and *Piḍhā dēul* forms two component parts of a single shrine. The *Rēkhā dēul* is characterised by curvilinear spire, whereas the *Piḍhā dēul* with pyramidal roof. The main temple or the sanctum also known as *vimāna* is of a *rēkhā* order and preceeded by a porch of *Piḍhā* order called the *Jagamohana* or *mukhaśāḷā*. The *Jagamohana* is lower in height than the *vimāna* and both are linked internally. In the later period two more structures of *Piḍhā* order, known as *nāṭamandira* and *bhogamandira* are added to the *Jagamohana*.

There are three phases in the evolution of the temple architecture of Orissa. The temples which belonged to the formative or the early phase were of very small size rising to a height of not more than 50 feet. Some of them were without *porches* or *mukhaśāḷās* and some had rectangular porches with flat roof looking like a low *maṇḍapa* with pillars in the hall. The main temple or the *vimāna* was of three *ratha* type and the *pāgas* were not fully developed. There is no uniform disposition of doors and windows and the joint between the shrine and *mukhaśāḷā* was of a rudimentary type. The architects were not yet in complete agreement regarding

4. Fergusson, J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 92.
5. PIHC, 1949, p. 74.

the decoration of the walls of the *mukhaśālā* but in the treatment of the shrine walls as also of the *śikhara* they worked according to a set formula.[6] This was the state of development in the domain of temple architecture during the time of the Sailodbhava kings. The temples which belonged to this phase are Śatrughnēśwara, Lakhmanēśwara, Bharatēśwara and Parasurāmēśwara etc.

In the next stage i.e. in the transitional phase during the reign of the Bhaumakaras the temples like Vaitāḷ, Śiśirēśwara etc. were constructed. Here we find the evolution of *Pancharatha* shrine. Though the porches or *mukhaśālās* are still rectangular but are found to be architecturally advanced in as much as they contain pillars in the hall supporting the roof. Moreover they already began to display a trend towards the pyramidal roof. The walls of the shrine and the *mukhaśālā* are decorated in smaller fashion—a characteristic which clearly set these temples apart from those of the culmination or the last phase. Some of the decorative motifs of the early phase fade into insignificance and now the doorways and windows are flanked with serpent pillars which were unknown earlier.[7] Both in the field of architecture and sculpture these temples show a distinct improvement and a considerable maturity of technique.

The temple building activity reached its culmination during the time of the Somavaṁśīs, who succeeded the Bhaumakaras. In this phase the temples began to gain in size, in complexity of architectural design and in increasingly lavish sculptural ornamentation. The development of Orissan temple architecture reached its zenith with the construction of not merely Orissa's but India's best, the Lingarāj temple. In this period the temple architecture attained maturity to such an extent that the later development was concerned merely with elaboration.[8]

During this period the *Jagamohana* or the *mukhaśālā* became an integral part of the temple. Now the porch or the *mukhaśālā* makes its appearance as a fullfledged *piḍhā* temple with pyramidal roof instead of being a rectangular structure. These characteristics of the porch continued to be a leading feature in the subsequent ages. In the temples of this period iron beams were used for the first time. The temple structure became lofty and vast, solid and strong. Moreover in this period all the four component parts of the temple like the *Vimāna*, *Jagamohana*, *nātamandira* and *bhogamandira* consist of the *pishta*, *bāḍa*, *ganḍi* and *mastaka*, whereas in the early group of temples we do not find the *pishta*. The *bāḍa* of early temples consists of three segments, and now it is divided into five segments. Another feature of the

6. Dehejia, Vidya. *Early Stone temples of Orissa*, p. 78.
7. Lal, Kanwar, *The Temples and Sculptures of Bhubanēśwar*, p. 51.
8. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 156.

temples of this period is the soaring height with miniature temples or *angaśikharas* on the *gandi* of the *vimāna* which is conspicuous by its absence in the earlier temples.

The temples which were constructed at Bhubanēśwar during this period are the great Lingarāj, the magnificant Brāhmēśvara, the beautiful, Rājarānī and the Muktēswara. Besides these temples many more have been attributed to the agency of the Somavaṁśī kings due to their architectural and sculptural affinities with the above mentioned temples. The temple of Kośaḷēśwara at Baidynāth in the Sonepur, subdivision of Bolāngir district and the Pancha pāndava temple at Ganēśwarapura in Cuttack district belong to this period.[9] The Dākra Bhīmēśwara and the Ēkāmbarēśwara temples at Bhubanēśwar have been assigned to the last quartrs of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century A.D. during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa.[10] The Gourī temple in the compound of Kēdārēśwara is regarded to have been built by the same kings.[11] According to tradition the temple of Kuśaḷēśwara at Deogāon in the district of Kēonjhar was built by Jajāti Kēśarī, who is also given credit for constructing the temple of Chandēśwara near Chilika.[12] The twin temples of Sidhēśwara and Nīlamādhava at Gāndhāraḍī, 8 or 9 miles west to Baudh in the district of Phulbāṇi, and three small temples at the premises of Rāmēśwara temple at Baud were also constructed during this period.

It is well known that the Somavaṁśī kings were originally the rulers of *Daksina* Kośaḷa and while coming from Kośaḷa to Orissa they brought with them the architectural traditions of that country. In Orissa the new features from the upper Mahānadī valley are found to have been completely integrated with the indigenous architectural traditions, in the temple of Muktēśvara.

The Muktēśvara :

The Muktēśvara is a definite land mark, the end of the development of the early temples and a forerunner to the later style of temples in Orissa.[13] Early Orissan architecture reached its peak in the exquisite Muktēśvara temple situated close to the Parasurāmēśwara temple in the '*Sidhāranya*' or the forest of the perfect at Bhubanēśwar. Long years of architectural and sculptural experience found its expression in this little temple of Muktēśwara.

Tradition credits Yayāti I or Yayāti Kēśarī for the construction of the

9. Das, M. N. (Ed.) *Side lights on the history and culture of Orissa*, p. 495.
10. Ibid., p. 585.
11. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 250.
12. Mahatab, H. K., *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 188.
13. Dehejia, V., op.cit., p. 78.

Muktēśwara. Scholars have placed this temple about 950 A.D. nearly two centuries after the date of Paraśurāmēśwara.[14] This date falls within the reign period of Yayāti I. Moreover the temples at Baud, which were built by the Somavaṁśī kings, have identical architectural and sculptural features with that of the Muktēśwara. We do not find the impact of these temples at Baud on any other temples of Bhubanēśwar before it. This leads us to believe that this temple was a work of the Somavaṁśīs. Also the temple of Muktēśwara is regarded as a grand ancestor of Brahmēśwara, which we know was built by the Somavaṁśī king Udyotakēśarī. Certain architectural and sculptural features which are to be found in a nascent stage in the Muktēśwara have developed into their full-fledged form in the Brahmēśwara temple. Regarding this so many instances can be cited[15], one being the incomplete form of the *piḍhā* temple of the Muktēśwara has assumed its fulfledged type in the Brahmēśwara.

The temple of Muktēśwara is one of the most beautiful temples of Orissa which has been regarded by Fergusson[16] as 'a gem of Orissan architecture' and R L. Mitra[17] calls it, 'a charming epitome of the perfection of the Orissan architecture'. This temple is very similar in its plan and design with the Parasurāmēśwara, yet it shows some developments in Orissan temple style by introducing some new features.

The temple is situated in a quadrangular court enclosed by a low wall on the eastern side of which is an elegant *toraṇa* or gateway. The Muktēśwara is a very small temple, in fact one of the smallest at Bhubanēśwar. The temple is barely 35 feet high and the *Jagamohana* only 25 feet and the sanctum only 7 feet 7 inches square on the inside. In this regard R. L. Mitra has remarked 'according to European architects the most important element of beauty of architecture is its size, but the Orissan artist in this instance has so ingeniously adopted the ornaments to the scale of his work that the effect is the most charming and the mind wrapt in admiration by the beauty of the details fails to detect, the smallness of the structure on which they are set.'[18]

The Muktēśwara temple stands on a low podium like the Parasurāmēśwara but in plan it is a *pancharatha* and here we find the porch or the *jagamohana* that marks the beginning of a *piḍhā* temple of typical Orissan form. This pyramidal roof

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14. Saraswati, S. K., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 542.
15. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 157.
16. Fergusson, J., op.cit., p. 97.
17. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., p. 156.
18. Ibid., p. 156.

consists of gradually receeding tiers piled one above the other and is surmounted by a *Kaḷasha.* This new characteristic becomes typical of the later Orissan temples. The *gaṇḍi* has five storeys and between each two of them a *chaitya* window serves as decoration. The *bāḍa* of the *dēul* is separated by the *gaṇḍi* by a richly carved wall band. The *gaṇḍi* takes a convex curve near the *bēki* giving the square tower a circular form.

The Muktēśwara is one of the few temples at Bhubanēśwara which represents the interior decoration of the *jagamohana.*[19] The ceiling of the *jagamohana* is decorated with sculptures of some cult images, *kirtimukhas,* figures of *Sapta mātrikās* etc? It is provided with two beautiful lattice windows on the north and south walls. The sanctum is also ornamented with various decorative motifs like the flying *Gandharvas, Dikpāḷas,* full blown lotuses etc.

In this particular temple 'the ornamentation is of the most sumptuous description, sculptured and finished with the greatest care and taste. The floral bands are neater and better executed than in most of the temples, the bas-relief sharp and impressive the statues vigorous and full of action.[20]

Right in front of the porch is a *toraṇa* or archway of 15 feet high.[21] It consists of ten pillars rising from a raised pavement, which display a marked excellence in design and decoration. This is the most unique feature of the Muktēśwara, and was meant for swinging the idol on festive occasions like *Doljātrā.* The *toraṇa* or the gateway is the only one of its kind in Orissa and we can not find a specimen of this in any other temple.

To quote Percy Brown 'it is one of the most original conceptions throughout the entire style and evidently the production of an artist having superior vision of skill.[22]

Thus elegantly decorated from top to bottom this temple marks the culmination of the temple building activity in Orissa. It reveals some architectural and sculptural features which with some or no modifications have come to be the standard of all the other important temples that followed it. In fact Muktēśwara divided the numerous temples of Bhubanēśwar into two broad groups—early and late and any of its innovations can confidently be taken as the basis of such a

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19. Brown, P., *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu).,* p. 104.
20. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., p. 156.
21. Ganguly, M. M., *Orissa and her remains,* p. 277.
22. Brown, P., op.cit., p. 104.

division.[23] Here we find for the first time the typical form of a Orissan *piḍhā dēul* and the five fold divisions of the vase like *pāda*, *kumbha*, *pāta*, *kani* and *vasanta*, which we cannot notice in the earlier monuments. In the earlier temples all images have been carved in shallow niches or medallions but here the principles of carving images in alto-relieve is adopted.[24]

The *bāḍa* of the temple introduces some of the typical Orissan decorative motifs like the *Aḷasakanyās*, *Nāga* and *Nāgi* column and *Gajasiṁhas.* In the cult images we find here for the first time a cock associated with *Kārttikēya* and a mouse as the mount of *Ganēsha* and babies carried in the arms of *Sapta mātrikās*. The number of planets on the planet slab which was previously eight is now nine, *Kētu* being included for the first time ; the cult images are represented without any halos around their heads.

Thus the Muktēśwara temple represents the early phase of temple architecture in Orissa at its maturity and sets the stage ready for the construction of such giants like Brahmēśwara, Lingarāj etc. To conclude in the words of Mr. Ganguly, 'the temple of Muktēśwara may be styled as the epitome of Orissan architecture showing all that is best in it. It may approximately by called a dream in sandstone adopting the immortal phraseology of Colonel Sleeman regarding Taj Mahal. It seems that the artist must have bestowed all his care and skill to make it a perfect, well proportioned model of Orissan architecture.[25]

The Rājarānī :

The Rājarānī temple is apparently an exceptional type in Orissa and represents the pure *nagara* or the Indo-Aryan[26] type of architecture at its best. It marks an advance in the art of composition over the earlier temples. By tradition people of the locality call it a pleasure resort. But the non-installation of the deity was perhaps due to other reasons. It is said that the dedicator of the temple was the queen of one of the Kēśarī kings who died before the completion of the work and left the temple to remain as it was ; it has, since then run into decay ; the people in the absence of a suitable name call it Rājārānī.[27] Mr. Ganguly is of the opinion that the name Rājārānī has been derived from a very fine grained yellow standstone called Rājārānī in common parlance.[28]

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23. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 89.
24. Ibid., p. 90.
25. Ganguly, M. M., op.cit., p. 275.
26. Banerjee, R. D., op.cit., Vol. II, p. 368.
27. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., p. 154.
28. Ganguly, M. M., op.cit., p. 313.

Regarding period in which it was built, it has been pointed out by Dr. Panigrahi[29] that the Rājarānī originally bore the name Indrēśvara and it was a Saiva shrine of the Somavaṁśī period. This view appears to be acceptable as from the architectural point of view, the Rājarānī appears to belong to a period intermediate between the Muktēśwara and Brahmēśwara. Due to the boldness of its conception and the elegance of its decorations, it has to be ascribed to the palmy days of the Somavaṁśī rule.

Regarding the beauty of this temple Fabri remarks as follows: 'with the Rājarānī temple at Bhubanēśwar we are as near to perfect baroque style as possible; not only in everything superbly organised, consciously aimed at moving you with its beauty, not only in the design as near perfection as possible but this temple is fortunately, so isolated in the middle of fields alone that you can quietly commune with her half hidden beauty'.[30]

The temple consists of a *Vimāna* and a *Jagamohana.* The *Vimāna* is *panchānga* and the exterior is covered with beautiful human figures, *Dikpālas* and other decorative motifs like the *alasakanyās* etc. The *Jagamohana* of the temple is rather small and its exterior is devoid of any decorative motifs and therefore it is altogether plain. Some critics however state that its plainness was deliberately intended. It possesses a stone window on each side. These two windows along with the front door are flanked by massive *nāga* pillars of the type of those temples at Baud. It is also *pancharatha* in plan and its *piḍhā* roof carries a simple *kalasha* as its finial.

On the whole the Rājārānī like any other fine temple of Orissa is a perfect monument of its own kind. The temple is famous for the beauty of its decorative art. Some of the features of this temple have been regarded as the finest and the best in the sculpture of India.

Architecturally this temple possesses some exceptional features which though is not dissimilar altogether from the typical Orissan temple style is more akin to the Khajurāho style of temples. One of the chief features in the shape and disposition are the *angaśikharas* round the exterior of the central parts of the *śikhara.* Though we find these *angaśikharas* as decorative motifs in some of the Orissan temples, but here they become very prominent and the manner in which they have been carved in this temple as a decorative motif did not seem to have found much favour with the Orissan artists in general. This new element of the *nagara* style was then very popular with the central Indian temple architects. The double *āmalaka*

29. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 94.
30. Fabri Charles, *History of the Art of Orissa*, p. 148.

characteristing the *angaśikharas* of Rājārānī also indirectly associated this temple with those of Central India.[31]

R. L. Mitra speaks of the temple as follows : 'Suffice it to say that in elegance beauty, and finish the temple affords one of the finest specimens of Orissan art and is worthy of the highest consideration. As an unconsecrated temple, unprotected and uncared for, it has afforded to travellers a mine of statues and carved stones and they have not been failed to make the most of it.'[32]

The Brahmēśwara :

The temple of Brahmēśwara lies east of the temple of Rājārānī and Muktēśwara. We learn from the *Ēkāmra Purāṇa* (Chapter 14) that *Śankara* after an elaborate exposition of the merits of Bhubanēśwar as his chosen seat and secret retreat on earth advised to *Brahmā* to erect a temple and *Viśvakarmā* accordingly built the temple. However the Brahmēśwara temple inscription of the time of Udyotakēśarī reveals to us that this temple was built during his reign by his mother Kolāvatī in the memory of his father Chandīhara Yayāti II. According to the chronology[33] worked out by us the temple should be placed somewhere between 1060 to 1085 A.D.

Like the Muktēśwara temple this temple also is situated within an enclosure and has four subsidiary shrines on the four corners. It thus looks like a regular *panchayātana* temple. Some scholars think this attractive arrangement has been derived from the vedic altar.[34]

The Brahmēśwara temple is one of the more finished examples of the Orissan temple styles. It consists of a *vimāna* and a *Jagamohana* both being *pancharatha* in plan. Among the dated temples it is the earliest one where iron beams have been used and the porch of the *Jagamohana* is a fullfledged *piḍhā dēul*. The *Jagamohana* of this temple has a more refined and elegant appearance than all the earlier temples, though it is similar in shape with that of the temples of Muktēśvara, Kēdārēśvara etc.

The *Jagamohana* has a threefold division in its *bāḍa* with five plain mouldings for the *pabhaga*. The *anurāhās* and the *kanakpāgas* of its *jaṅghā* carry *khākarā muṇḍis* and *viralas*. The niches of the corner *khākarā muṇḍis* contain seated figures of eight *Dikpāḷas*. The *Jagamohana* is provided with two windows on the north and south

31. Banerjee, J. N., *Religion in Art and Architecture*, p. 15.
32. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., p. 155.
33. Dr. Panigrahi has assigned this temple to 1060 A.D.
34. Lal Kanwar, op.cit., p. 57.

sides consisting of some female figures and, they also depict the scenes of dance and music performance very nicely.

The *barandā* is a single broad moulding which depicts various animals and birds. The *mastaka* contains all the component members of a fullfledged Orissan *Jagamohana* i.e. *bēki*, *ghanṭa*, *āmalaka*, *āmla*, *khapuri* and *kaḷasha*.

The ceiling of the *Jagamohana* is carved elaborately like that of the Muktēśvara. It contains sculptures in several tiers ending with a full-blown lotus in the centre and with *nāga* figures in the corner.

The height of the *vimāna* or the sanctum is 60 feet high and also has a *panchānga bāḍa* which gave the structure almost a rounded shape unlike the earliest temples, which are somewhat square in appearance.[35] The moulding of the *baranḍā* is richly carved. The upper and the lower *jaṅghās* are demarcated by a single moulding. The *kanka pāgas* and the *anurāhās* of the lower *Jaṅghā* have insets of *khākarā mundis* and some of which are decorated by *Dikpāḷas* in their respective positions. The spaces of the upper *jaṅghā* have *piḍhā munḍis* and are decorated with *aḷasakanyās*.

The *Mastaka* has the usual components, the *bēki*, an *āmla*, *khāpurī*, *kaḷasha* and a trident, the weapon of the deity.

The Brahmēśwara is a fine temple which shows mature workmanship and advanced architectural features. We find here for the first time, both on the cubical and curvilinear portions of the main structure, the miniature replicas of both the *piḍhā* and the *khākarā* temples, some half finished and some fully carved. In no other temple except this the miniature replicas of the *piḍhā* temple appear as decorations[36] one of the decorative motifs, the *gajasiṁha* which is absent in all the earlier temptes becomes a definite feature in all later important temples. It is singular too in having its interior as well as its exterior most elaborately carved and decorated whereas the carvings in all other temples excepting the great tower. were confined to the exterior walls.[37] Thus as is remarked by S. K. Saraswati, 'in its characteristic feature and appearance, the Brahmēśwara offers us the nearest approach to the great Lingarāj'.[38]

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35. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 62.
36. Ibid., p. 62.
37. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., p. 150.
38. Saraswati., S. K., op.cit., pp. 546-547.

The Lingarāj :

The temple of Lingarāj is the biggest and the greatest of all the temples at Bhubanēśwar. It ranks the best of the group belonging to the Indo-Aryan style of architecture and represents the Orissan type of temples in its full maturity[39] Fergusson[40] puts it as 'the best among temples of the Hindus.'

Tradition current at Bhubanēśwar credits Yayāti Kēśarī and Lalātēndu Kēśarī with the building of the temple of Lingarāj. The *Mādaḷāpānji* also states that its construction was first started by Yayāti Kēśarī and continued by Ananta Kēśarī and then completed by Lalātēndu Kēśarī. Of these three names of the *pānji* only Yayāti Kēśarī can be identified with Yayāti II of the Somavaṁśī genealogy and his son was Udyotakēśarī whose another name was most probably Lalātēndu Kēśarī, because the Lalātēndu Kēśarī cave at Udayagiri still bears an inscription of Udyotakēśarī. Therefore we may infer that the construction of Lingarāj was begun by Yayāti II and was completed by his son Udyotakēśarī who was also known as Lalātēndu Kēśarī. This is corroborated by the fact that there is a large number of affinities as regarding architectural and sculptural features between the Brahmēśwara and the Lingarāj. The temple may be dated in between 1025 to 1065 A.D.

The Lingarāj or the great temple occupies the centre of a large Quadrangular enclosure measuring 520 feet by 465 feet, contained within a high and solid wall, on the inner face of which is a platform so that on occassions it could be patrolled and defended. The God enshrined in it is Śiva, also known as *Trībhuvanēśwar* and *Bhubanēśwar* from which the city derives its name.

Being a full developed temple of Orissa the majestic Lingarāj consists of four frontally projecting sections the *dēul*, the *Jagamohana nāṭamandira* and the *bhoga-mandira* all axially joined. The *nāṭamandira* and the *bhogamandira* are undoubtedly later additions. It has been noticed by scholars they are built of an altogether different type of sandstone and their sculpture bear the obvious signs of the artistic development and peculiarities of a later period.

However the *vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* of the temple are the most stupendous structures, at present existing in Orissa and their construction provides a subject of great interest in the history of Indian architecture as to how this huge structure could be raised to such a height when modern machinery was unknown. The height of the *vimāna* is 127 feet and that of the *Jagamohana* is 89 feet 2 inches high.[41]

39. Ganguly, M. M., op.cit., p. 342.
40. Fergusson, J., op.cit., p. 97.
41. Ganguly, M. M., op.cit.

The *dēul* of the sanctum being a *rēkha* structure is *pancharatha* in plan and is without a *pishṭa* or platform and has a *panchānga bāḍa*.. The *pabhaga* itself shows the richness and high quality of the carvings of the monuments. The *baranḍā* consists of ten mouldings richly carved. The sculptural decoration of the two *jaṅghās* are richer and more elegant and the lower *jaṅghā* is ornamented with *khākarā mundis*. On the lower *jaṅghā* there are man-lions and elephant-lions. In the niches of the upper *jaṅghā* there are deities like Śiva depicted as *Ardhanārīśvara* and his family members. *Pārvatī*, *Ganēsha*, *Kārtikēya* etc. and the recesses of the *jaṅghā* display female figures in various postures.

However the most impressive feature of the temple as Percy Brown[42] remarks is 'its great tower which dominates not only the entire composition but the whole town of Bhubanēśwar with its height and volume and unquestionably the crowning achievement of this temple is the grandmass of the tower which as a work of architecture is not unworthy of any age or people'. The temple rises in a vertical sweep with miniature *śikhara* temples forming part of the temple but not dominating it. The *śikhara* is built of several chambers super-imposed over each other, the excess to which was obtained through a staircase built in the thickness of the walls.

The components of the *mastaka*, the *khapuri* and the *kaḷasha* are arranged nicely and the finial is the *trīśul* or the trident, the weapon of the deity.

The *Jagamohana* is equally a fine structure which is *pancharatha* in plan and has a *panchāngabada*. The *nāṭamanḍapa* and the *bhogamanḍapa* are open halls and are to some extent of the same style as the *Jagamohana*.

Regarding the beauty of the *dēula* and the *mukhasāḷā* of the temple, Fergusson has made the following appreciative remarks—'the outline of this temple in elevation is not at first sight pleasing to the European eyes, but when once the eye is accustomed to it, it has a singularly solemn pleasing aspect and a week's study of the *Jagamohana* would every hour reveal new beauties.[43]

Architecturally it is the most outstanding monument showing matured experience in temple building. In its grace strength and stability it is regarded the most notable monument not only of India but also in Asia. Its size warrants its inclusion for such ranking and the skill with which this fine monument has been planned and executed shows that art has spared no effort to produce a truly great

42. Brown, Percy, op.cit., pp. 122-123.
43. Fergusson, J., op.cit., pp. 101-103.

monument. Moreover the plastic embellishment is in perfect concord with the great height of the temple, which naturally adds to the temple's beauty.

Although the *pancharatha* plan of the temple evolved during the preceeding Bhauma period and is found in the early temples of Somavaṁśī period, it reached its perfection in the Lingarāj. Decorative art also reached its zenith with the construction of this temple. Lingarāj is regarded as the latest example of the Indo-Aryan architecture at Bhubanēśwar and the architectural features of Muktēśwara, which is regarded as the typical Orissan *pidhā dēul* reached its complete form in this temple. With all these architectural features fully developed, the Lingarāj temple sets the norm to follow for the later temples like the Ananta Vāsudēva, Sārī dēul, Yamēśwara etc. during the Ganga period. The temple of Lingarāj became a model for the great temple of Jagannāth at Pūrī in the later period. The Jagannāth temple is *saptaratha* in plan but basically the plan follows the decorative program of the Lingarāj temple.

During the declining years of the Somavaṁśī period and the opening years of the Ganga period there were numerous temples built at Bhubanēśwar, which were only partially decorated and lack the strength, vigour and refinement and the beautiful characteristics of the best examples of the Somavaṁśī period.

The Lingarāj temple at Bhubanēśwar and the Kandariyā temple of Khajurāho in Bundēlkand represent respectively the most finished products of the Kaḷinga and central Indian types of the *nagara* style of architecture and were almost contemporary.[44] As we know that Yayāti I had invited ten thousand *Brāhmins* from Kanauj and there was contact with it and it is just possible that the Orissan *Silpīns* were congizent of Chandēllā architectural tradition. 'The Khajurāho[45] temple stands on a higher platform and is supported by a higher basement and the orderly repetitions of the miniature *śikhara* became an element of decoration besides being additional support to the main and central *śikhara*. On the other hand the Lingarāj temple has not these strengthening factors but what has apparently been a loss has added to its grace and dignity. The temple abruptly rises from the ground level without a plinth or platform and goes up in vertical sweep with the rows of miniature *śikharas* forming part of the wall surface, but not dominating it. Stability has been secured not with the help of the miniature *śikharas* but by the intrinsic strength and unbroken contour of the tower itself.

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44. Brown, Percy, op.cit., pp. 122-133.
45. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., pp. 52-53.

Sculpture :

Medieval sculpture of Orissa is best illustrated in the temples constructed during the reign of the Somavaṁśī kings. A great deal of progress was made in this field during their regime. The artists had learnt a lot and achieved a great deal after the construction of the Paraśurāmēśwara and other earlier group of temples at Bhubanēśwar. Previously the walls and interiors of most of the temples were left plain and unadorned but now the Muktēśwara, Rājarānī and Brahmēśwara were richly carved and the exterior being profusely ornamented.[46] Thus the entire structure becomes a fully carved monument with huge decorations.

The sculpture of the early temples were not well developed. The sculptures of these early group of temples were flatened and marked with a lack of originality.

The temples which were built during the last days of the Bhaumakara rule indicate a sense of decline in their sculptures. Again we mark the indications of a resurgence movement in the temples built during the early period of the Somavaṁśī rule. 'A considerable advance of technique and maturity is noticed in the temple of Muktēśwara, which with its superb proportions and exquisite finish of the sculptures and other decorations indicates a resurgent movement with the advent of the Somavaṁśī kings.[47] Here in this period the sculpture is characterised by its naturalness and roundness. The deities look more refined and elegant with an expression of grace and beauty. The plastic work shows a greater sensitivity and delicacy. Orissan sculpture reached its peak in the temples like the Rājarānī, Brahmēśwara and Lingarāj. These temples are regarded as the best specimens of Orissan plastic art. The sculptures of this period offer far more exquisite and delicate loveliness than those of both the earlier and later temples. But the sculptures of the later temples like the Ananta Vāsudēva and the Sārī dēul etc. are devoid of any grace and beauty and also lack its originality due to over-ornamentation.

Temple sculpture is divided into two broad categories namely cult images and the decorative motifs. The first category represents the gods and goddesses and different episodes from their lives and the second category includes secular themes depicting various scenes from the human life, *alasakanyās*, *mithunas*, birds, animals and vegetal, floral, geometrical or architectural motifs.[48]

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46. Mitra, R. L., op.cit., p. 150.
47. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 158.
48. Saraswati, S. K., op.cit., p. 654.

For the sculpture of the icons and the cult images though each piece is regarded a masterpiece of art we shall show here the speciality of a few among them. The *Pārśva dēvatās* of the Lingarāj temple are made of Chlorite that is said to have been imported from a distant place and was used to ensure greater permanency and to bring out finer details of artistic designs. In this temple the figure of *Pārvatī* with a lion is very natural and charming. It shows the creative genius of the Orissan artists. In the same temple the figure of *Bhagavatī* which is nearly 7 feet high, is an excellent example among the numerous, elaborate and carefully carved statues of the deities. Such images are fine examples to show the skill of the architects of the period.

Among the decorative motifs the female figures, who are known as *Alāsakanyās* in sculptural terminology, figure very prominently in the temples of this period and are the most beautiful products of Orissan sculpture. They have been shown in various postures doing various activities and expressing different moods. They are graceful with their smiling faces and well proportioned figures. The charming glances of their eyes have added of life to stone.

The Muktēśwara temple illustrates the successful realistic treatment of animal forms. In the cornices of the *Jagamohana* of the Brahmēśwara and Lingarāj, the friezes of birds and animals including horses bear the most attractive features. The Muktēśwara and the Rājarānī introduce a new motif that is a swan carrying away a string of pearls in its bill (*Muktālobhi-rājahaṅsa*).[49] The animal motifs of the Muktēśwara temple were adopted in most of the later temples.

In the earlier temples we can see a large number of royal personages ascetics etc. However besides the divine figures purely secular figures were hardly seen. For the first time secular figures and stories are found in the Muktēśwara temple. This motif was followed by most of the later temples. In this temple persons carrying offerings to gods, disciples with their teachers, dancers and musicians are carved very beautifully. To quote Banerjee[50] 'in the Rājarānī temple human figures used in decoration are the finest specimens of plastic art in Orissa. In chastity of design, poise, in execution and sense of proportion the Rājarānī figures are perhaps unrivalled.' In case of pure decorative motifs it possesses a distinct advantage over the Lingarāj or the Ananta Vāsudēva.

The Chaitya window is first used as a decorative motif in the Paraśurāmēś-wara temple but the beginning of its stylisation is first marked in the Muktēśwara temple and it occurs in its latest stylised form on the *śikhara* of the Rājarānī temple.

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49. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 121.
50. Banerjee, R. D., op.cit., p. 408.

Another beautiful device, the *Nāga* and *Nāgi* figurcs are represented for the first time as half serpents and half human beings with canopies of serpent hood over their head in the Muktēśwara temple.[51] Before that the *Nāga* figures occured rarely in the temples and that too in the form of human figures with canopies of serpent hoods over their heads. Moreover in the earlier temples the *Nāga* was not accompanied by the *Nāgi*. This form of representing the *Nāga* and *Nāgi* figures as decorative motifs was followed by all other later temples.

The sculpture during the Somavaṁśī period reveals exquisite beauty of execution and a high degree of skill possessed by its workman. The artists of the period have shown their zeal and genius in the sculptures of the above mentioned temples. Some images of this time are regarded to be the best specimens of sculpture. Fine scroll works are to be noticed in the images carved on stones, of which the *Pārśvadēvatās* provide the best examples. In the Lingaraj temple, the balustrades, the windows, the sun god, marriage scenes and various poses of the female figures, decorations etc. are the greatest contribution of the artist of this perird to Orissan sculpture. In short the sculpture of this period exhibit some pleasing characteristics and the images present charm, dignity, graceful pose and radiant spiritual expression.

51. Panigrahi, K. C., op.cit., p. 116.

CONCLUSION

The Somavaṁśī rule was an important epoch in the political and cultural history of Orissa. Their manifold activities in various fields ushered in a new era in the history of Orissa and for that they remained immortal in the minds of the Orissan people.

As is known from the available sources as many as 13 rulers ruled for nearly 200 years starting from 919 to 1118 A.D. Almost all of them were great warriors and efficient rulers who ruled over a vast kingdom covering the whole of the districts of Bolāngir, Sambalpur, Bālāsore, Cuttack, Pūrī as well as parts of Ganjām, Mayurbhanj and Kaḷāhāṇḍi and the Midnāpore districts.

Political unification of Orissa was an important achievement of the Somavaṁśī kings. They were originally the rulers of Kośaḷa, but the real founder of the greatness of the dynasty was Janmējaya Mahābhavagupta I who seized and assumed the sovereignty over Oḍra in Tośhāḷī or Utkaḷa and thereby he prepared the ground for his successors to conquer the whole of Utkala or the entire coastal regions of Orissa. Further extension of the Somavaṁśī power took place in the second half of the 10th century A.D. under Yayāti II Chaṇḍīhara. He became the lord of Kaḷinga, Kongoda, Utkaḷa and Kośaḷa. Thus the Somavaṁśī kings who followed him united the upper Mahānadī valley and there by completed the unification of Orissa.

The Somavaṁśīs established the invincibility of the Orissan army in their many successful expeditions against countries like Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjāra, Kānchi, Gauḍa ect. They had many encounters with their traditional enemies, the Kalachuris. They could maintain the political solidarity and independent status inspite of the invasions of the Rāshtrakutas, Choḷas, Nāgas, Telugu Choḍas and the Gangas.

When the Somavaṁśī kings ascended the throne of Utkaḷa there was anarchy as well as misrule prevailing throughout the country, which was threatened by external forces and disturbed by internal feuds. There was no progress in the cultural field. There were neither law and order nor peace and unity in the kingdom. It was the rulers of this dynasty who brought to an end years of misrule and anarchy and saved Orissa from internal decay and external dangers, set up an efficient, strong and well-organised system of government for the welfare of the people. Concentration of power in the monarchy was the basis of their administration which however was not of a despotic character. The council of ministers served

as a restraint on the power of the monarchs and welfare of the people was the guiding principle of administration. Some of the principles of administration as seen in their copper plates indicates quite advanced type of government systems. The machinary of administration organised by the Somavaṁśīs was of a more elaborate and systematic type than that under the Bhaumakaras. This system provided a pattern for that of the later dynasties of medieval Orissa. The Gangas who succeeded them followed their examples. They also for sometime made *Yayati nagara* their capital. Though the designation of officers was identical in the records of both the Bhaumakaras and Somavaṁśīs, some new designations like *Saṁāhārtri, Sannidhātri, piśun vētrik, pundarikāksha, niyūktaka, adhikārika* etc. are found for the first time in the Somavaṁśī records.

The peace that prevailed and the patronage that the kings provided facilitated many sided developments of the cultural life. Religion, art architecture and sculpture flourished well under the fostering care of the rulers.

In the field of religion the period witnessed the climax of Śaivism in Orissa. The revival of the glory of Śaivism which had lost much of its popularity in the previous period was a great achievement of the Somavaṁśī kings. They sought to give it impetus by building many magnificent Śaiva temples, liberally making land grants, by inviting many Śaiva ascetics from far off places, by performing orthodex vedic rites and rituals and sacrifices. It is during this period that the temple building activity in Orissa reached a high watermark of glory. Many temples dedicated to Lord Śiva headed by the great Lingarāj were brought into being in the hightide of Śaivite faith, which flooded Orissa at that time. However in keeping with the time honoured practice of the rulers of Orissa, they showed tolerance to other faiths like Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishanavism, Śaktism etc. which also prospered well under their tolerant rule.

The greatest and the most enduring contribution of the Somavaṁśī kings to Orissan life and culture was made in the realm of art and architecture. The period is a great landmark in Orissan as well as in Indian art. A large number of monuments were constructed which represent the finest specimens of Orissan art and architecture. Advanced techniques were employed in the field of architecture, which surpassed all other previous ages. From epigraphic and literary sources it is known that the temple of Brahmēśwara, Lingarāj, Rājarānī and Muktēśwara were constructed during this period. It has rightly been remarked that an artistic skill attained after centuries of experiences and liberal incentive given to the artists by the Somavaṁśīs provided necessary foundations for raising such magnificent edifices as Lingarāj, Brahmēśwara, Muktēśwara and the Rājarānī. A considerable progress was made in the development of temple architecture of Orissa. The first stage of

development being started in the Sailodbhava period reached its culmination in this period which introduced almost all the new architectural features and decorative motifs to the early Orissan art. Truly has it been remarked that 'the Orissan temple reached its complete form towards the close of the Somavaṁśī period. The architectural activities in the later period though by no means scarce were more concerned with elaboration than with any introduction of new features or forms indicating new directions of development.'

The sculptures of the period also received a new treatment and distinguished themselves by their special features from the art products of the other periods. Some of the images of the period are regarded as the best specimens of sculpture, which reveal exquisite beauty and execution and a high degree of skill possessed by its workmen. The *pārśvadēvatās* the *Chaitya* windows and the scroll works used for the decorative motifs in the temple are the greatest contributions of the artists of the period to Orissan sculpture.

Like art and architecture which practically reached the zenith of its glory, Sanskrit literature also developed to a great extent. Some of the great scholars of the medieval period flourished in Orissa during this period. Numerous land grants were made to learned *Brāhmaṇas* to encourage the study of Sanskrit literature. These scholars composed many notable works in Sanskrit. Besides Sanskrit literature, many other secular subjects were also studied and some of the kings themselves were great scholars. The age was not only noted for the development of Sanskrit literature, but also marked the formative epoch for the growth of Oriya literature. In the inscriptions composed in Sanskrit we come across typical Oriya words like *Khambha, Pūnya, Māchha* etc.

Thus the Somavaṁśī period forms an important landmark both in the political and cultural history of Orissa. The rulers were great conquerors who revived the martial traditions of Orissa created by Khāravēḷa. They gave Orissa a geographical unity and a homogeneous culture for the first time which became a united centralised and a strong empire under one sceptre. They are regarded as the makers of modern Orissa or Utkala. Although their political achievements did not survive their rule, their cultural activity formed a lasting legacy for the people of Orissa, which will ever remain a golden chapter in the history of India.

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GLOSSARY OF SOME ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

aḷasa kanyā : indolent or playfûl maiden (nayikā) female figures in various poses decorating the exterior facade of the temple.

āmala, āmalaka : fluted disc. resembling an āmalaka fruit or flattened melon, crowning the top of the spire.

anga-śikhara : miniature representation of rēkhā on the spire of the temple.

anurāhā : narrow vertical wall point (recess) between the projecting pāgas, on later temples fitted with nāga stambhas, viralas and alsa kanyas on the bāda, on the ganḍi it is generally filled with superimposed miniature shrines.

bāḍa : wall portion of the temple below the curvilinear spire consisting of pabhaga, janghā, bandhana and baranḍā on later temples the baranda is generally incorporated into the ganḍi on the rēkhā deal.

bandhana : string course, series of horizontal mouldings along a wall.

baranḍā : a sêt of mouldings forming the topmost portion of bāda.

bēki : neck part of temple between the spire and the āmalaka.

bhoga manḍapa : the refectory hall of a temple generally added infront of the nāta mandira on the east west axial alignment.

bhumi : storry, plane horizontal division of the spire or gaudi.

chaitya : ornamental motif rasembling the window of a rock cut chaitya hall in the general shape of a horseshoe.

dēul : general name of the temple as a whole : when used alone refers to the sanctuary as distinguished from the hall or jagmohana.

ganḍi : curvilinear spire above the bada divided into pagas vertically and bhumis, horizontally ; śikhara.

ghanta : bell shaped member in the finial of a piḍhā dēul.

jagamohana : rectangular or square hall or proch in front of the sanctum.

janghā : vertical wall portion of the bāḍa between the mouldings, on later temples it may be divided into two stories by a string-course.

kalasa : water jar, crowing element of the temple in form of a stone vase figuring at the container of the nectar of immortality.

kanika :	corner ventral segment running from the base of the bāḍa to the top of the ganḍi also called kanika, karna.
khākarā :	semi cylindrical member resembling the kakharu, a local variety of pumpkin.
khākarā dēul :	temple having a khākharā as the crowning member; ab-long in shape and in Orissa always dedicated to a form of the goddess.
khapuri :	skull, slightly curved stone slab covering the roof of the āmalaka ; kharpara.
manḍapa :	hall in front of the main shrine ; jagamohana.
mastaka :	crowning element above the spire or ganḍi.
munḍi :	miniature shrine as decorative motif.
nāṭa mandira :	festive hall generally placed in front of jagamohana, dancing hall.
pabhaga :	set of lowermost mouldings at the base of the temple ; panca karna.
pāga :	vertical projecting divisions of the wall and spire of the temple ; ratha.
paiḍhā :	downward curving pediment projecting member constituting the pyramidal roof of a jagamohana.
piḍhā dēul :	temple with roof made of pidhas in steps of adminishing size forming a pyramidal shape with crowning mastaka.
piḍhā munḍi :	miniature representation of the pidha deul as an ornamental motif.
pitha :	base or platforms of the temple below the pabhaga ; plinth.
rēkhā dēul :	order of temple characterised by a curvilinear spire which presents the appearance of a continuous line.
śikhara :	spire of the temple, ganḍi.
toraṇa :	portal, porch, entrance, arch.

INDEX

ERRATA

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
1	22	For	Far
9	24	less two	less than two
10	5	society	Society
16	25	Sonepure	Sonepur
20	23	once	one
20	37	chēdis	Chēdis
23	31	the Ong	the river Ong
30	14 (title)	Mahabhavagupta-I	Mahabhavagupta-II
32	20	send	sent
34	2 (title)	Mahabhavagupta-II	Mahabhavagupta-IV
40	8	Central	central
50	15	sanskrit	Sanskrit
54	12	Battaputra	Bhattaputra
58	2	Social	social
60	26	Cowherd	cowherd
62	37	married two	married to two
63	7	Karpuraśn's	Karpurasri's
70	11	pandits	*pandits*
70	19	Charity	charity
71	13	patron ge	patronage
71	18F	Jajati	Yayāti
77	19	A	An
77	41	tenable	untenable
78	12	these	these
87	24	decorations one	decorations. One
88	18	Quadrangular	quadrangular
92	16	added of life	added life

LIST OF PLATES



Photo No. 1



Photo No. 2



Photo No. 3



Photo No. 4

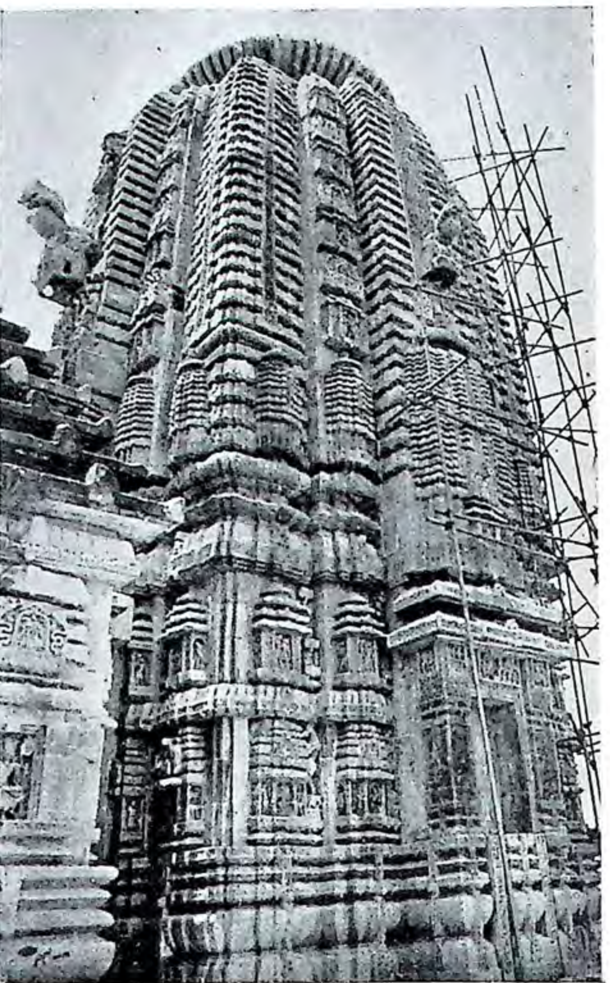


Photo No. 5



Photo No. 6



Photo No. 7



Photo No. 8



Photo No. 9



Photo No. 10

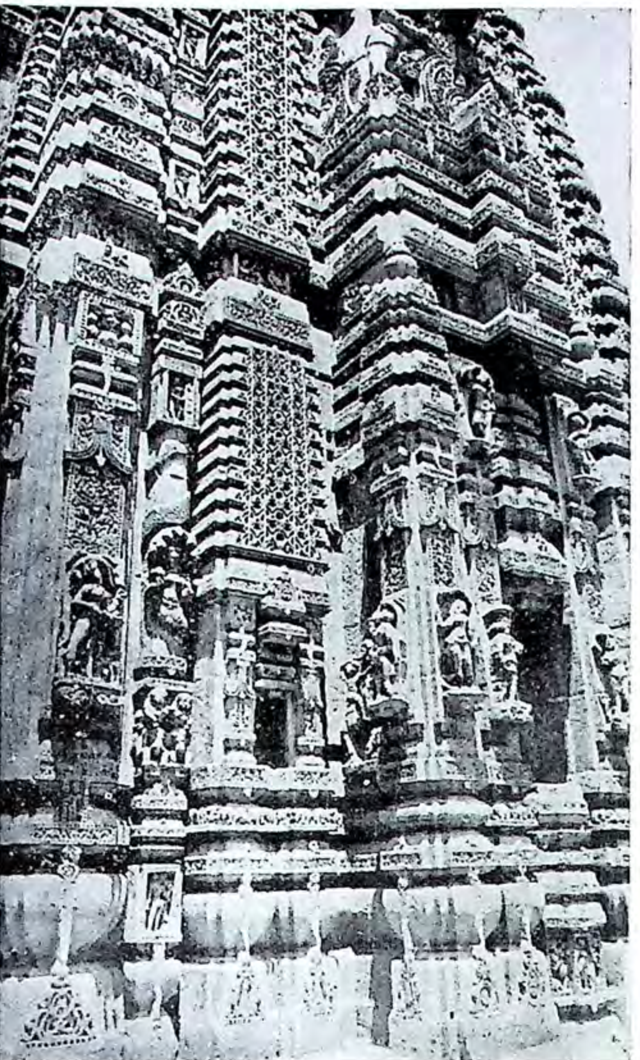


Photo No. 11

Photo No. 12



Photo No. 13



Photo No. 14



Photo No. 15



Photo No. 16

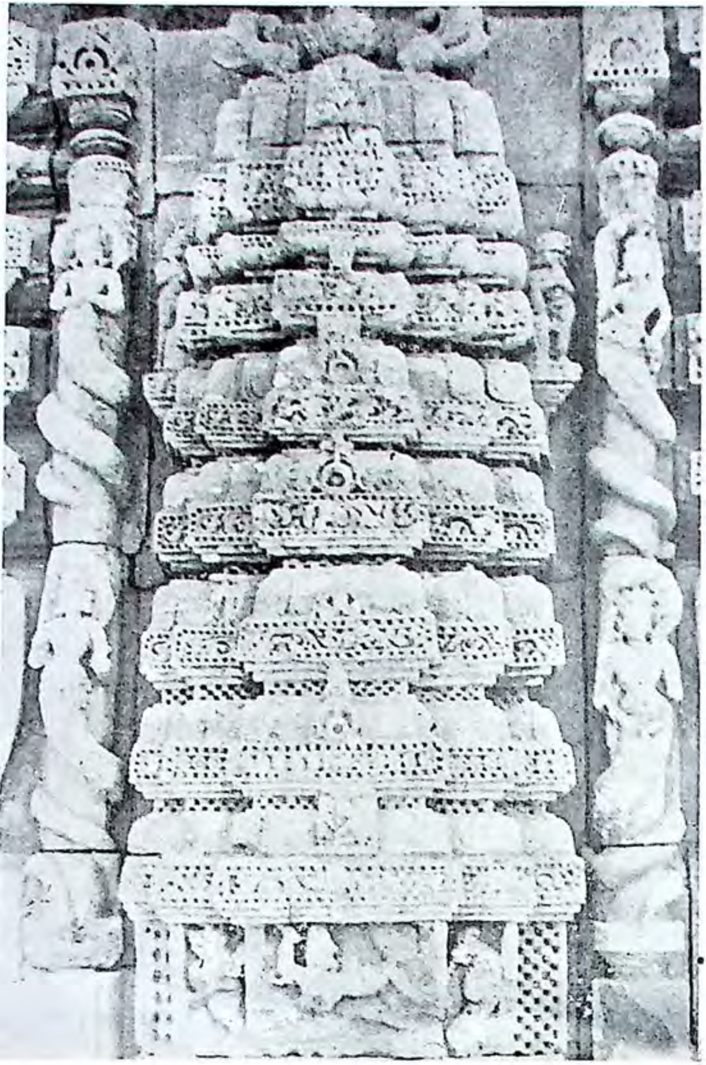


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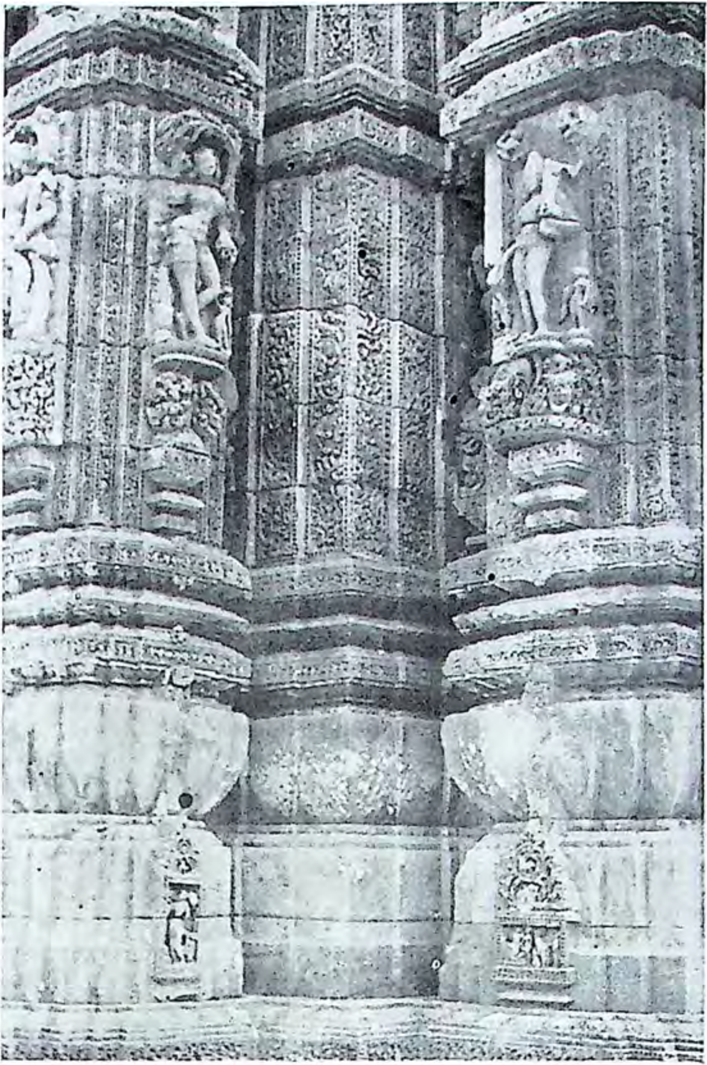


Photo No. 18



Photo No. 19



Photo No. 20



Photo No. 21



Photo No. 22

Photo No. 23

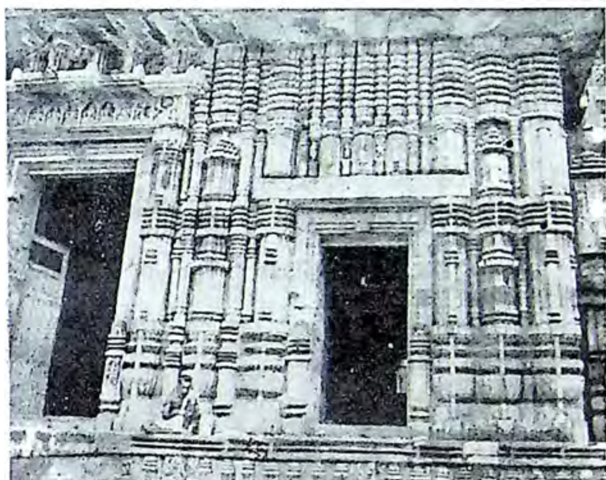


Photo No. 24



Photo No. 25



Photo No. 26



Photo No. 27



Photo No. 28

Photo No. 29



Photo No. 30



Photo No. 31

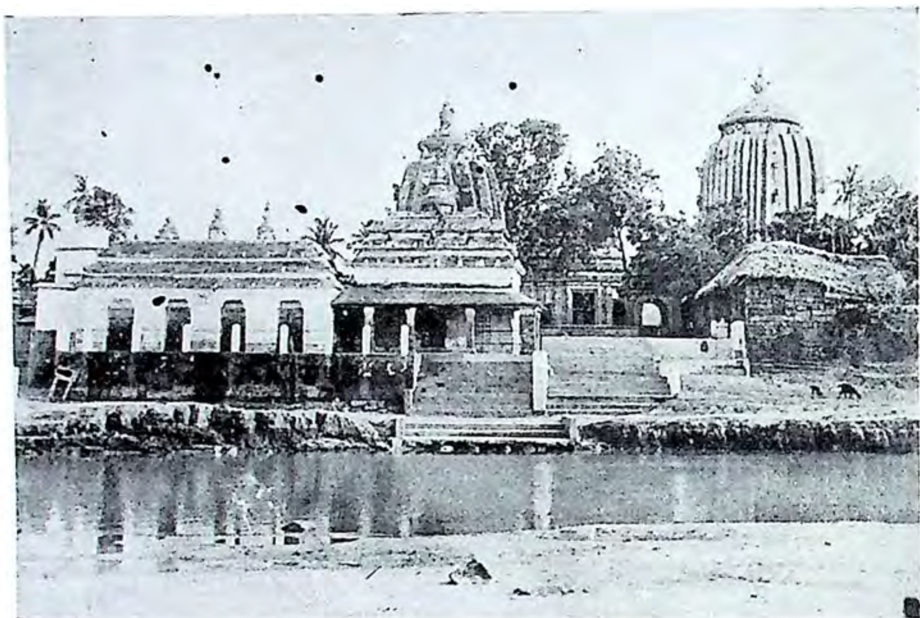


Photo No. 32



Photo No. 33



Photo No. 34

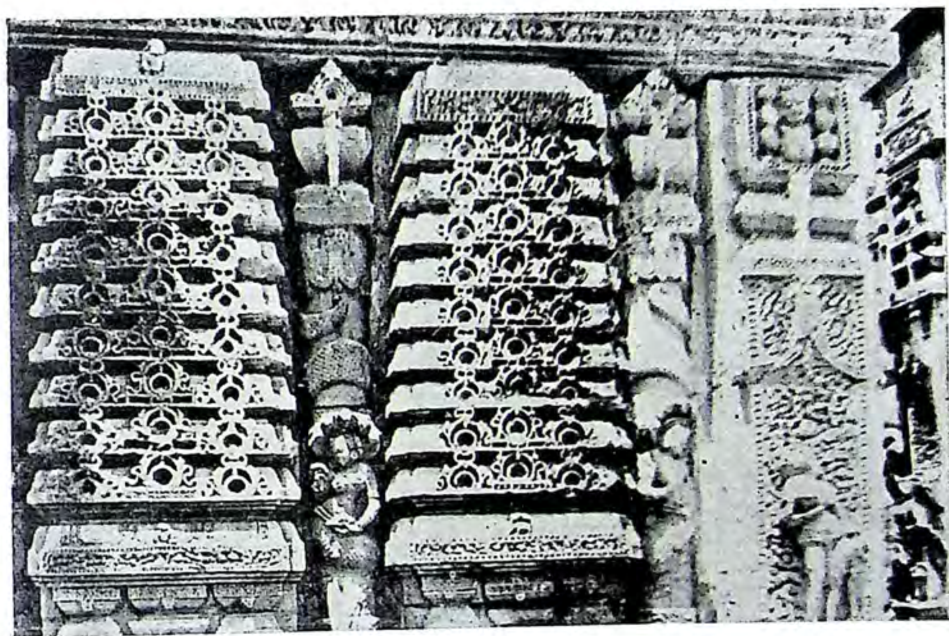


Photo No. 35



Photo No. 36

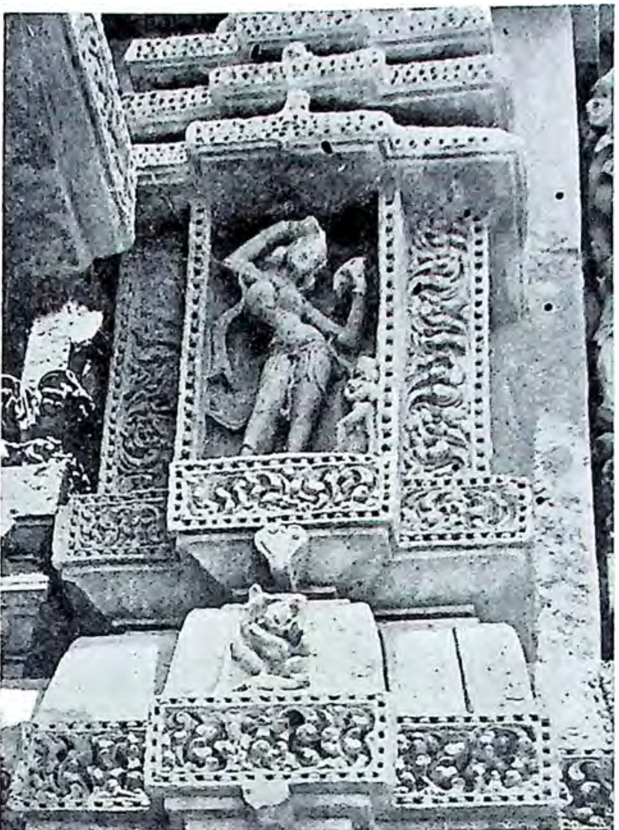


Photo No. 37

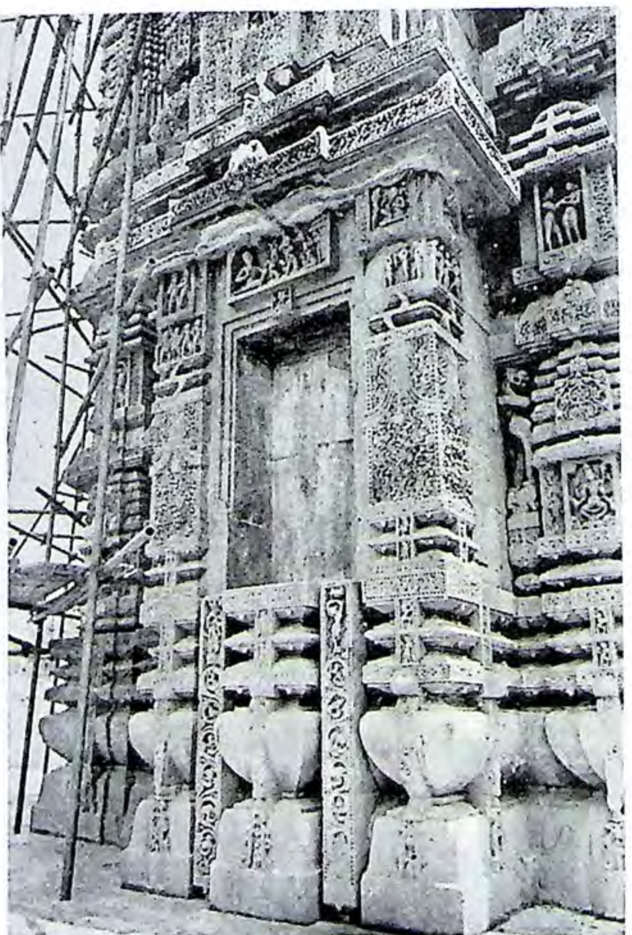


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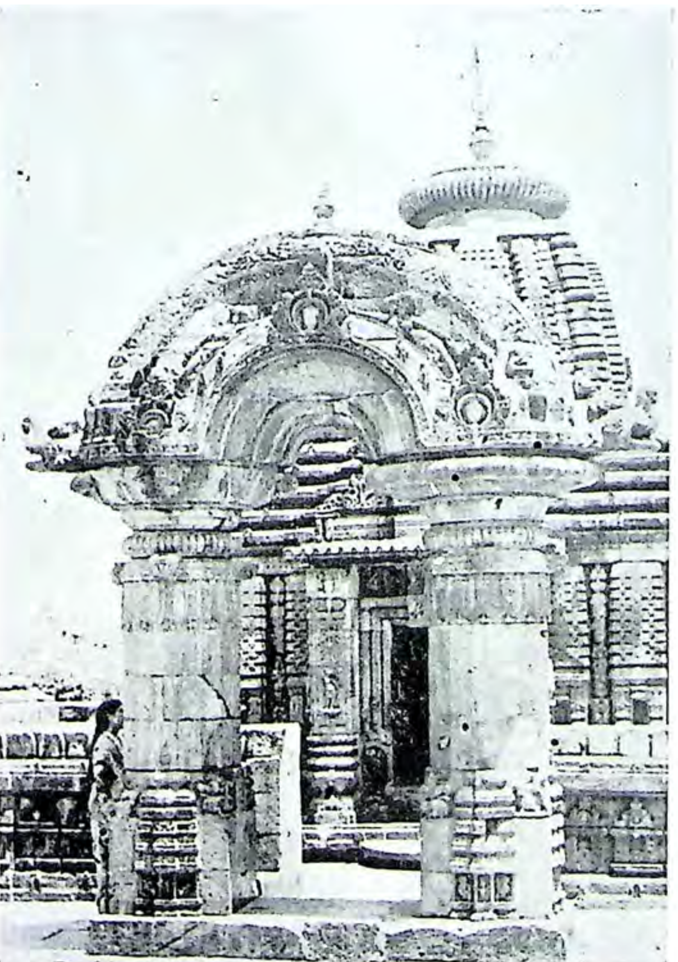


Photo No. 39



Photo No. 40



Photo No: 41



Photo No. 42



Photo No. 43



Photo No. 44



Photo No. 45

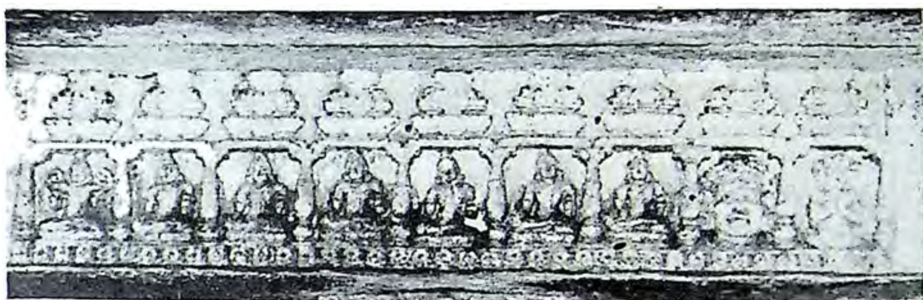


Photo No. 46

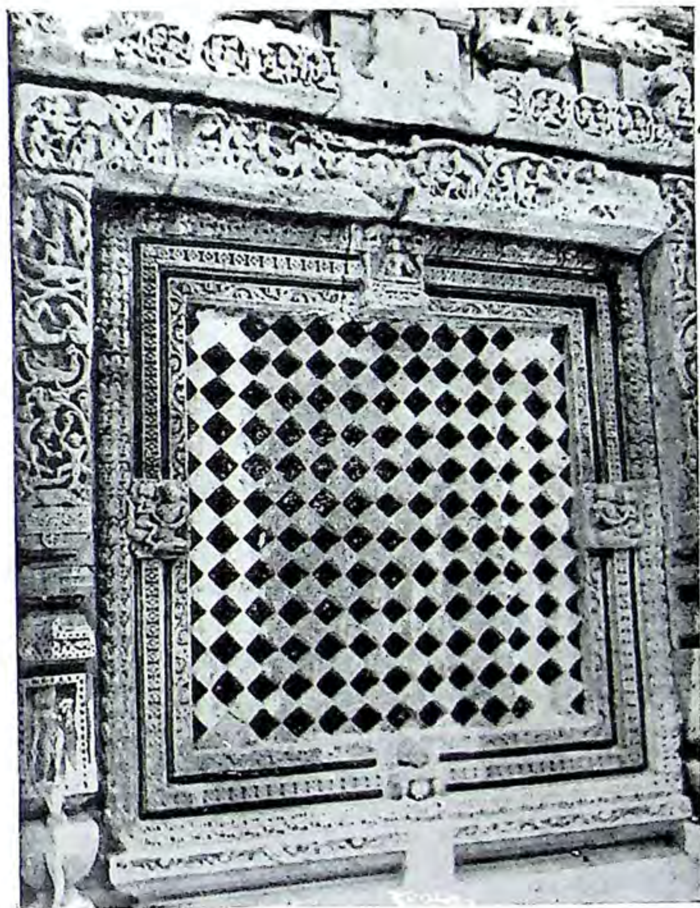
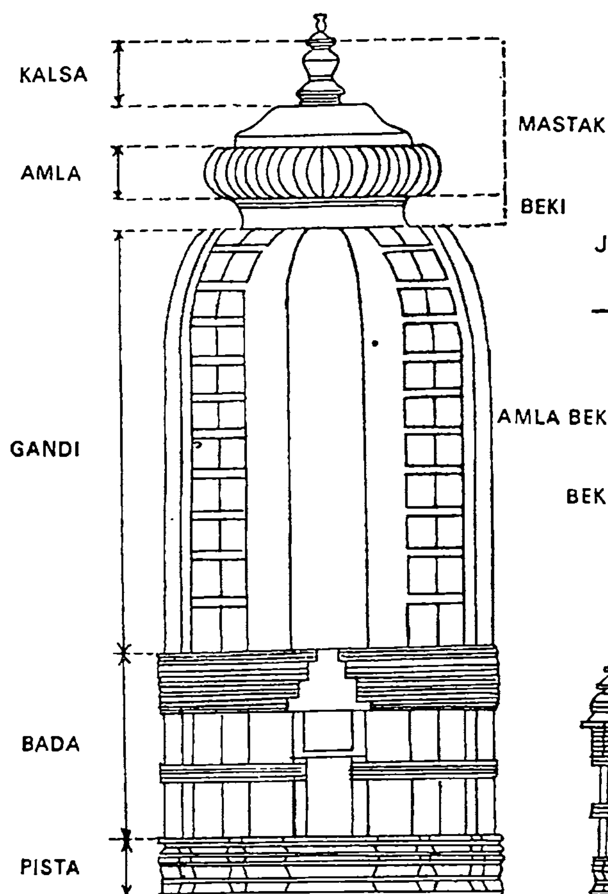


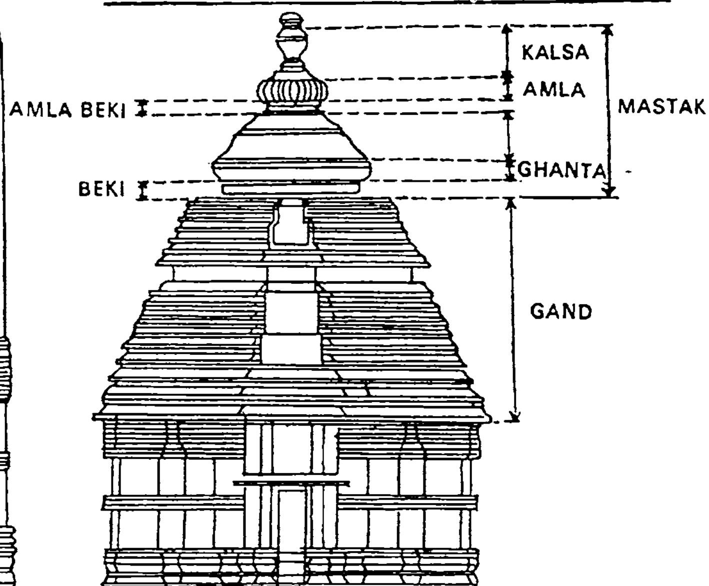
Photo No. 47

ESSENTIALS OF TYPICAL ORISSAN TEMPLES

DEUL OR THE MAIN SHRINE

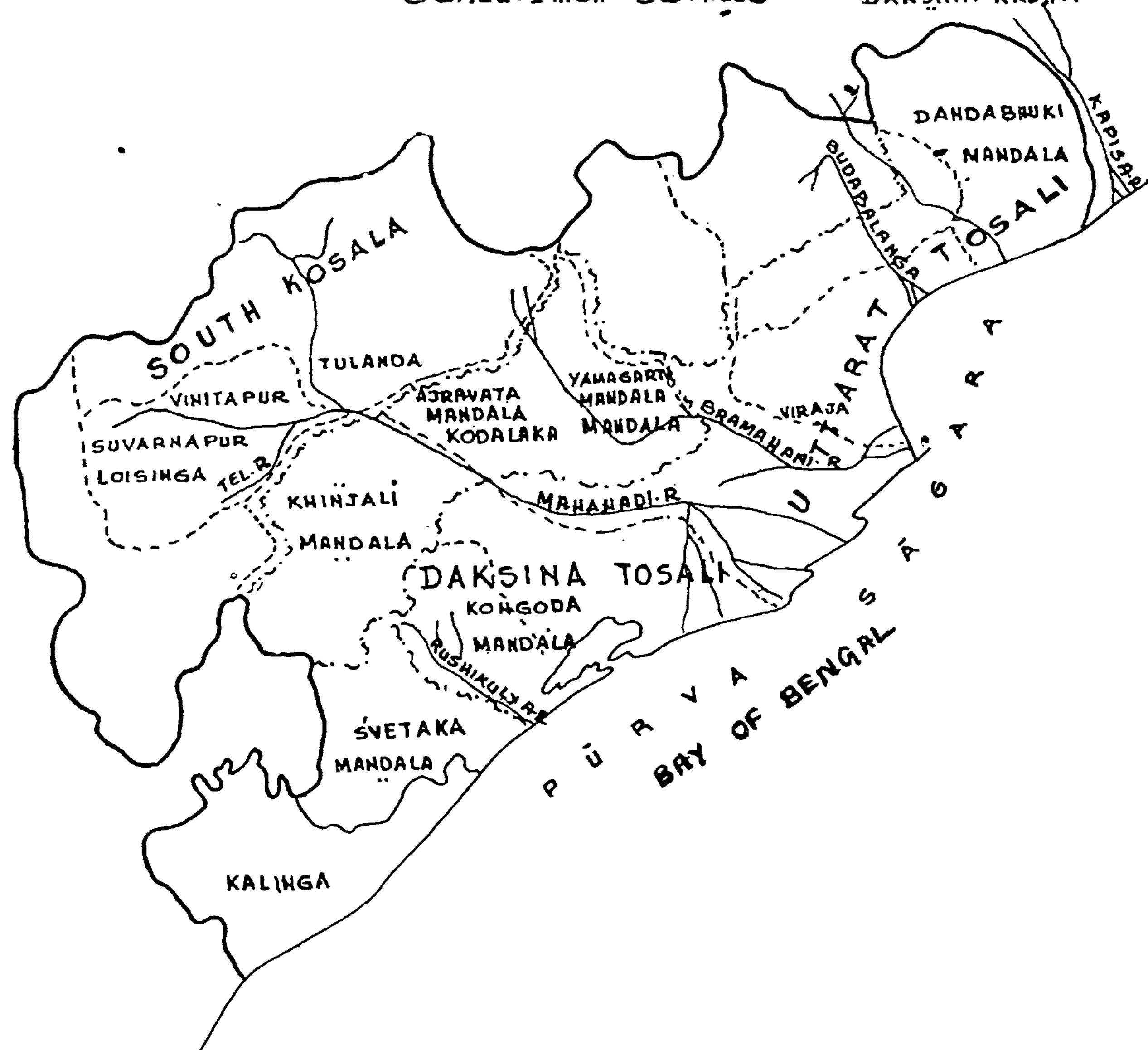


JAGAMOHANA OR THE PORCH PRECEEDING THE DEUL



MAP OF SOMAVAMSI KINGDOM

SCALE: 1 INCH = 50 MILES

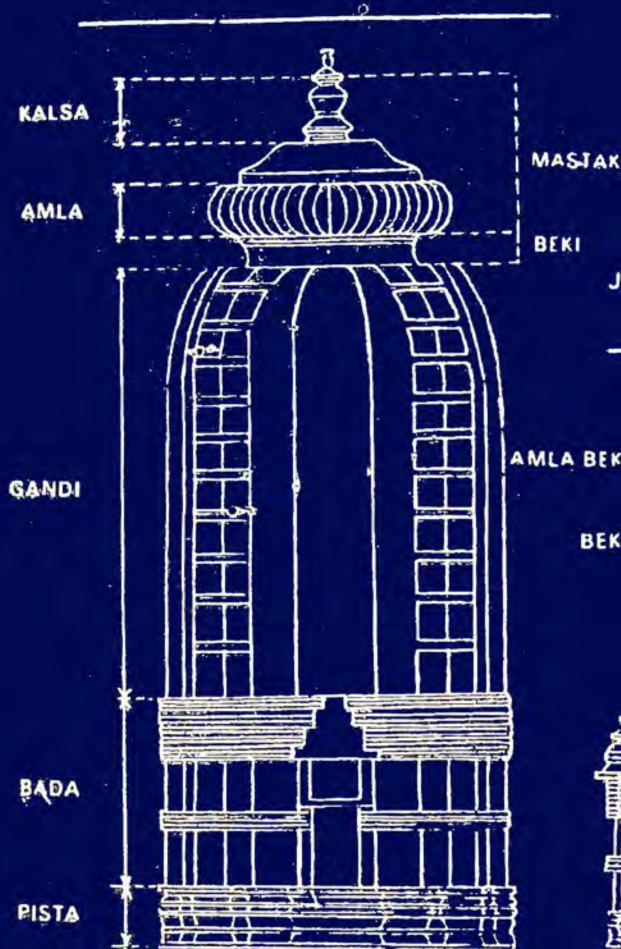


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